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EMERSON AS LITERARY MIDDLEMAN *

By CARL F. STRAUCH

If the nineteenth century, or that large part of it called the Victorian Age, seems to have moved more slowly and mildly than our own, it was not really a sluggish period nor, on the whole, was it complacent, though sluggishness and complacency could be discovered then as now. Ideas of all kinds multiplied so rapidly, and so many people became aware of issues and problems that we may note a marked similarity between Victorian intellectual and emotional needs and our own. For this reason a special interest attaches to the emergence on the Victorian scene of the middleman. It was his task to interpret new and revolutionary ideas for a greatly enlarged reading public; and frequently in making an accommodation between new ideas and traditional concepts, he was able to ease a very real dilemma for thousands of serious-minded people.

These middlemen do not represent an intellectual type so much as a social and educational function, as may be seen in the extraordinary careers of Thomas Carlyle and Thomas Henry Huxley. Carlyle helped readers to a renewed sense of religious and cultural values—and this, as Emerson himself testified, was particularly true of Carlyle's early period, before he turned nasty and worshipped naked, brutal power. Huxley performed an invaluable service in popularizing Darwinian evolution and in advocating that more science be included in the curricula of British schools. Obviously the two men are poles apart, emotionally and intellectually, although their service was of a kind: to familiarize thinking people with the new, to establish an accommodation between the old and the new, to create a formula by which people might find life endurable and perhaps even respectable. Most arrangements do not last very long; and it is nothing at all against the Victorian literary middleman that his solutions went up in the smoke and fire of World War I.

The middleman need not himself be a great originator of ideas, although he is frequently highly original in his manner of putting ideas together or modifying them. It should be apparent, furthermore, from the examples of Carlyle and Huxley that new ideas may be metaphysical and religious as well as scientific and that scientific thought itself passes over into faith. The complexity becomes all the more bewildering if we take note, merely in passing, of two more middlemen: John Stuart Mill and Matthew Arnold. Mill softened and humanized the doctrine of Utilitarianism, and by his own confession he was helped to his modified Utilitarianism by the Romantic nature poetry of Wordsworth. If Arnold was a poet and literary critic he was also an amateur theologian and a professional inspector of schools; accordingly, he tried to persuade his Victorian contemporaries to accept the Bible as literature, and, in a famous debate with Huxley, advocated that literature be assigned the central role in education. Whatever his starting point and whatever his final emphasis, the Victorian middleman discovered that, essentially, he had to deal with the powers that go to the building up of human life and that, as a consequence, in any broadly speculative view, he was compelled to create a harmony representing man's entire scope. On the American scene one such literary middleman was Ralph Waldo Emerson.

I may as well admit at the outset that Emerson, whose career was devoted to a hopeful and hortatory version of as much of the truth as came into his view, has run the risk of intellectual bankruptcy. To younger generations he has appeared hopelessly unpersuasive, if not absurd; and in a sharply altered intellectual environment his doctrines have seemed grotesquely beside the point. A few years ago a leading scholar, writing on a topic in Emerson that need not detain us, dropped, in passing, the remark that, of course, nobody today "believes" in Emersonian doctrines. For some time now in critical discussions of American literature the vogue has all been for Original Sin, the Whiteness of the Whale, and a host of other mythic themes. Those scholars and teachers who wish to maintain a balanced view of our literature are, therefore, rather challenged to explain such a dubious commodity as the optimism of an Emerson. The problem posed by this critical debate is far too large for us to explore, but it may be said that Emerson would have been the last to be surprised at his own dismissal. "All things flow," he repeated after the ancient Greek; and this law includes rivers, time, literary reputation, systems of ideas, and our very lives.

The question whether we today can believe in the ideas of a literary middleman dead now these many years, this question is itself, in judging the writer, an unreal issue. Ideas, like aesthetic form, are for the literary student endlessly fascinating; ideas are, furthermore, the most powerful agents, and, being highly volatile, combine readily in the most unexpected arrangements; ideas, moreover, do finally perish, only to revive in forms that would be repugnant to their originators. In literary studies, therefore, the problem of truth or error is, from the point of view I have been expounding, not only an irrelevance but, more importantly, a hindrance to understanding.

* Lecture on the Faculty Lecture Series, Lehigh University, sponsored by the Senior Class.

Indeed, the history of every field of knowledge and expression is cluttered with the relics of vanity, illusion, and error—or what we, given our turn, call error; and literature, because it is the most direct reflection of our human condition, is peculiarly the realm of temperament and hence error. This state of affairs is not alarming when we are dealing with a narrative poet like Chaucer or a dramatist like Shakespeare. We enjoy the narrative and the drama, and indeed the astrology and the outmoded psychology may possess a faint antiquarian charm. But such attractions are adventitious; and it remains true of all writers that if anything survives the disaster it is a quality of mind, an intellectual integrity, an emotional harmony. This evening, though I want to fulfill the literal obligations of my topic, I particularly aim at some insight into the quality of Emerson's mind.

I have dismissed the question of truth or error as unreal; there are, however, substantive questions that may be asked. What service did the literary middleman perform in his own day, and what was the specific value of the service? In somewhat the same terms that we would apply to other literary figures—novelists and dramatists, for example—has a middleman like Emerson created a world in which we may imaginatively live and move about? If this imaginative world is narrow, as Emerson's certainly is, does it nevertheless rest upon a fundamental human need? Emerson himself said of the great poets that they are to be judged by the frame of mind they induce. Does Emerson, as a man of ideas, induce a frame of mind that, once having experienced it, we would not willingly surrender to time? Does Emerson possess qualities and traffic in ideas that give a subtle shading and variation to the central doctrines?

I am calling such questions to your attention not because I fancy they are brand new with me but because the answers are invariably difficult even when an author's works are themselves squarely faced. But the difficulty is frequently compounded by our human propensity to indulge either extreme of the cultural fallacy. At the one extreme the historian or critic will conclude that because a rough approximation (never closely examined) can be established between an author's ideas and those dominant in society the author is therefore to be held responsible as the direct or not too remotely indirect source of the social ideas in question. At the other extreme the author's ideas are once again identified and merged with those of society, not as causative, however, but as illustrative. The first extreme is ethical, the second sociological, and they are both the stock in trade of cultural history and the history of ideas. Used with discretion, they can obviously generate insights that may become acceptable as truth; but beyond the discretionary limit there exists the constant threat of distortion, and it is therefore always necessary to read the author afresh in the light afforded both by our maturer perceptions and by scholarly research in the author himself. Even in the best of times this correction of our critical astigmatism is never easy, and in a period of violence like the twentieth century, waves of hysteria pervert the intellect and warp the judgment. Thus it is notorious that, according to the verdict of the cultural legend of World War I, Friedrich Nietzsche induced the frame of mind responsible for that upheaval.

The logic of such a game is a piece of desperation; would the journalists, men of letters, and scholars who encouraged the popular half-truth and delusion about Nietzsche have been so zealous had they known or taken into account that by his own confession he was powerfully influenced by Emerson? Did the Sage of Concord, even by proxy, hone the sabres that rattled in the Potsdam barracks? How far does the responsibility of a literary middleman extend? Is not such an author responsible only for his own intentions as they may be gathered from his works, and never for the influence they may exert—an influence that is more often than not the affair of the people being influenced? And are they not to be counted in the thousands, and even hundreds of thousands, each with his own large or small share of guilt in the perversion?

You are not to suppose that I am denying any kind of influence. Ideas imply belief, but the quality of credence is never simple or uniform. When an idea enters the social realm it can no longer be regarded as merely the idea in its intellectual purity. It becomes the idea plus a personality, plus several powerful personalities, and then thousands of submissively impressionable personalities; it becomes the idea plus other social forces, plus a happy or unhappy accident—indeed, many such accidents. The role of error in the transmission of ideas is a large one; and every time an idea passes from one mind to another, the drama of the fall of man is about to be enacted. Thus it is difficult to agree with a prominent scholar who, bewailing the hedonism and materialism of contemporary America, has charged recently that Emerson, "the arch-heretic" who did not believe in Original Sin, together with the "amoral" naturalistic writers, is responsible for our moral squalor and accordingly has "much to answer for."

The second kind of falsification to which the literary middleman's ideas are

subject is far less offensive. More than one British scholar has pointed out that we Americans, in our love for the general and abstract, are forever turning out books on the American mind, as though there really were such a disembodied entity—and the minds of Franklin, Jefferson, Webster, Calhoun, Emerson, Henry Adams, and Frank Lloyd Wright were merely so many expressions or emanations of it. Now, in spite of the amused incredulity of this or that British scholar, there is substantial plausibility in this view of a national culture; and to choose an example, Henry Steele Commager's The American Mind is first rate. Another division of this class of writing makes much less of intellectual developments and lays emphasis on the panoramic and kaleidoscopic sociological view, as in Max Lerner's recent America as a Civilization; in such a treatment Huck Finn, science, jazz, Madison Avenue, the mobility of Americans, suburbia, Emerson's definition of happiness, and a million other items go into the pot. I hasten to say that I have no great quarrel with such books; but valuable as they may be, they must not be presumed to contain the whole truth, especially about figures so important as middlemen of ideas, who frequently become understood or rather misunderstood only as he who writes and reads fastest chooses to interpret them. There are far more subtleties, complexities, and qualifications in the work of any middleman of ideas than even a Max Lerner can conveniently acknowledge; and we Americans may lose the intrinsic savor and worth of a Franklin or an Emerson in our statistical lust to average up and level down and flatten out. If this kind of falsification is less offensive than the first, it does nevertheless dissipate ideas and dissolve personality. For superficiality the Idols of the Market Place always deserve first honors.

Emerson's doctrines may be readily summarized. In Nature, the prose rhapsody that appeared in 1836, he declared that the reality of the universe is spiritual, and he established a close tie between man and nature at every level, with nature in the role of educator for man in his physical, aesthetic, moral, and intellectual life. Though impotently relying upon a dead past and at odds with his true self, man may discover his own divine attributes in the mirror held up to him by nature. In The American Scholar, a Phi Beta Kappa address that Emerson read at Harvard in 1837, he again asserted the prime position that nature must hold in man's education, and he proceeded to say that the scholar, in the approaching day of our intellectual independence from Europe and especially England, has the duty of guiding men "by showing them facts amidst appearances." And, we should add, Emersonian "facts" are, in this connection, always metaphysical.

In the spring of 1838 a few divinity students invited Emerson to deliver the address to the senior class at the divinity school in the following July. Emerson's journals, in the intervening months, dramatically reveal the great care with which he prepared the talk; in passage after passage he shows himself to be an angry man, chafing at the inert custom and tradition of formal religion. The address itself, still regarded as a major declaration of its kind on American soil, continued the apotheosis of man from the first two efforts and gave unusual prominence to a feeling or idea hitherto employed only in a supporting role—the great importance of the present, an idea that is platitudinous enough as one may baldly state it, but in the context supplied by Emerson and with his hortatory emphasis, psychologically arresting. Emerson frankly attacked the role of the historical Jesus in order to affirm the ready supply of divine inspiration in the living present. The address was a thunderclap in Unitarian circles, and Emerson was consequently barred from functions of the kind at Harvard for nearly thirty years. Whatever the bad effect among good people whom it pained Emerson to be in disagreement with there can be no doubt of the purpose and thrust of these early performances—to liberate man from history so that he may think and act in the present with sole reliance on his divine attributes. This same spiritual resourcefulness Emerson celebrated in the famous essay "Self-Reliance" in 1841, with the additional encouragement to resist a timid and conforming society. For the rest we may be brief and take note of his term "Over-Soul," which is his translation of several Greek terms that he discovered in Cudworth, the seventeenth-century Cambridge Platonist; but Emerson's coinage has more than eccentric charm, for it does suggest a divinity shared by all. Finally, Emerson's doctrine of compensation—that evil is never permitted to outstrip good, however belated the redress, is linked to his fundamental view that the universe is good and that evil is merely privative and has no real existence. In all his writing Emerson concentrated powerfully upon mind or spirit in its perfect innocence, as though, like Adam, one might confront life and experience afresh, even though in a nineteenth-century recapitulation.

For a long time now this kind of preachment has seemed to many critics naive and inadequate as a rendering of life; but it is doubtful that Emerson intended his doctrines, in all their metaphysical sweep, to constitute a denial of evil as a tangible and specific element in human experience. We are familiar with literary strategy in the career of T. S. Eliot, who found it necessary to unseat several great

poetical reputations in order to prepare readers for the vogue that he wanted to establish. Now, it may be plausibly argued from all the evidence, especially in the journals, that Emerson also, but with purposes altogether unlike Eliot's, made his doctrines serve a carefully planned strategy. The purposes, of course, were those of a middleman of ideas.

Emerson was temperamentally disposed toward the conceptually narrowing idealism of Plato and the Neo-Platonists and could choose no otherwise than as his own powerful bias dictated; and in a lifetime of intellectual adjustments, though he modified the idealism, he never abandoned it. Indeed, his work itself offers a recapitulation of primal innocence in terms of Neo-Platonic emanation; and this recapitulation may be observed in his view of the private man, the social man, and man the species against the backdrop of evolution and history.

Briefly, the doctrine of emanation teaches that the universe is spiritual and proceeds in pulsations from the divine source of all life, which can be designated as the One, unknowable and ineffable. From it emanate in succession two lower expressions of divinity, nous or divine mind, and psyche or world-soul. This third hypostasis is the mythological Zeus, Plato's demiurgus, and Emerson's own Over-Soul. It is the creator of the material world; and the religious person is happier, doubtless, in calling it God. Below these emanations, all physical existence is to some degree an expression of divinity, and each new level is a mirror of that above, reflecting a portion of the divine, and in turn being reflected in that below.

For Emerson the attractiveness of innocence, purity, and goodness lay in the correspondence, point for point in man's spiritual nature, between man as the microcosm and the universe as the macrocosm. Though it be foolishness to us, Emersonian doctrine states that when man relies upon his higher nature, he does, in effect, summon the universe to his aid; but perhaps in the last thirty or forty years we have been committing a three-fold error in regard to Emerson's view of a morally perfect universe. The first error I have already alluded to—the mistaken notion that metaphysical doctrine blinded Emerson to evil. The other two errors are of the same kind—the imputation of sentimentality and ignorance. In a naturalistic age we incline to feel that strength or tough-mindedness can express itself only in realistic or mechanistic or brutal terms. The answer must be that both in exhortation and vignette Emerson drew the features and laid the colors of his metaphysical universe in the most compelling fashion for those to whom virtue was attractive as much through the imagination as through ethical prescription. Emerson speaks somewhere of the poet's "formidable innocence," and the author of Comus would have understood that he was not indulging in baby talk. Recently a British historian of our literature has acknowledged the "astonishing purity" of Emerson's work; and in our day such an acknowledgment is itself astonishing and much more than one had hoped for. In Emerson's day the Platonic and Christian intellectual tradition was still vigorous enough to provide the basis for his conviction that idealistic young people could be inspired in the conduct of their lives if they were given clues of a spiritual commonwealth for which they felt a powerful affinity.

Emerson's success on the lyceum platform was a full confirmation. For the American trying to liberate himself from the strictness and gloom of Calvinism or from the torpor of Unitarianism, for the American responding to the vital democratic promise of the times—in new ideas, reform, and progress, for the American feeling all of these impulses and turning his back on a feudalistic past Emerson's exhortations provided a welcome stimulus.

Doctrines of innocence and purity may have been adequate for the self-reliant encounter with everyday moral and intellectual issues in a private life; but they could not help a thoughtful person to make up his anguished mind about geological time and the transmutation of species in the face of accepted Biblical truths as taught by his church.

To his Neo-Platonic innocence Emerson added an all-knowing kind of awareness that he himself described as skepticism. In his lecture and essay on Montaigne, the great French skeptic, Emerson explained that skepticism is not at all doubting and disbelieving, but rather weighing and considering. Like Montaigne's skepticism, Emerson's was far from a simple matter because it involved feeling as well as thought, temperament as well as rational discourse. Emerson was always plagued by a "double consciousness," as he called it; and in an early journal entry he confessed that he was unable to think of the universe without a contradiction. To deal with this dilemma he borrowed from Coleridge the metaphysical device of polarity—seeing the universe from opposite poles of awareness and expression. Thus Plato saw things from the deductive and spiritual pole, while Bacon saw them from the inductive and materialistic pole; and yet, said Coleridge, the two extremes might be harmonized.

Emerson gave his contemporaries a view of evolution that represented an agreement between the spiritual and the physical, between faith that simply affirmed and fact that induced skepticism, between the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation and the modern theory of evolution. These were polar opposites that might be reconciled. Emerson's own acceptance of pre-Darwinian evolution was prepared for by an impressive body of philosophical and scientific readings, far larger than can even be hinted at here. Reading Lyell's Geology in 1836, Emerson encountered the vast reaches of time so necessary, as he himself put it years later in English Traits, for transmutation to do its work. In 1845, Robert Chambers' Vestiges of Creation, whatever its shortcomings, supplied the impetus for Emerson's acceptance of biological evolution; but the system of thought that precipitated Emerson's reconciliation of evolution and emanation was known as progressive development or the evolutionary philosophy. This doctrine, which Emerson came upon especially in handbook presentations of the German philosopher Schelling, posited a dynamic unfolding universe of orders or classes of existence succeeding one another up the scale from the lowest to the highest in chronological sequence. Although this purely speculative view, with its sources in the Platonic tradition, gave no hint of the transmutation of species, it nevertheless accustomed men's minds to the idea of some form of evolution and thus prepared the way for the new advance of the biologist. Both emanation and progressive development were purely conceptual, the first positing creation as previsioned in the One, the second as revealed in the mind of man. For those who made a harmony of these polar opposites it was just as essential to understand how creation came about under the rigorous conditions of time and space as it was for the geologist and biologist who had set aside these mere speculations in favor of specific and actual proof. For Emerson, then, both geology and biology confirmed what was already in the mind as intuition and metaphysical logic; and these, in turn, justified Emerson's adoption of biological views.

Emerson's public was familiar, of course, with his habit of regarding thought and experience, in their manifold range, as resolving themselves into polar opposites. Some must also have been aware of the importance he attached to skepticism as the initial stage in much intellectual activity. A few versed in ancient philosophical systems were likewise conscious of his reliance on Neo-Platonism. But nowhere in lecture or essay did Emerson plainly show how he had worked out his own synthesis; the gradual steps toward it can be seen only in the pages of his private journals, which were printed some thirty years after his death. His bringing emanation and evolution together is the most ambitious and fruitful manipulation of his own system of polarity; and it is such an extraordinary performance, altogether, that we need to examine it somewhat closely for the quality of mind that we are pursuing.

One of the most fascinating questions for the student of history is the qualify of belief at a given period. We have Henry Adams' word for it that the medieval Frenchman, having expended the equivalent of so many hundreds of millions of dollars in the erection of cathedrals, lost all faith after a while in the economy of heaven and stopped building. One would like to be able to feel this loss of faith, not merely entertain it as a recorded fact or proposition in Adams, but to be present bodily and become chilled to the bone as the thermometer drops. In his Education Adams suggests that as a young man of thirty he did not accept Darwinism with the scientific gravity expected of one about to be introduced to a rather simian grandmother; nor did he reject the introduction with a shudder of Victorian respectability. "Henry Adams," he writes, "was the first in an infinite series to discover and admit to himself that he really did not care whether truth was, or was not, true, unless the process were new and amusing. He was a Darwinian for fun." It will not do to dismiss Henry Adams as merely frivolous, because as a matter of fact, if there were time, we could very readily show that there was a serious point to the jest, even though eminent Victorians of the materialistic scientific faith like Huxley and John Fiske never jested.

In Of Human Bondage Somerset Maugham deals likewise with the quality of belief. Philip Carey, the rather trying protagonist, has just read The Origin of Species, and Maugham comments: "The first readers ...accepted it with their reason; but their emotions, which are the ground of conduct, were untouched. Philip was born a generation after this great book was published, and much that horrified its contemporaries had passed into the feeling of the time, so that he was able to accept it with a joyful heart. He was intensely moved by the grandeur of the struggle for life, and the ethical rule which it suggested seemed to fit in with his predispositions. He said to himself that might was right. Society stood on one side, an organism with its own laws of growth and self-preservation, while the individual stood on the other." Carey had adopted Social Darwinism; but whatever the alteration or perversion of ideas, the contrast that Maugham draws between acceptance by the reason, on the one hand, and by the heart, on the other, is to our purpose

here. The manner in which a belief is held, one is tempted to say, is as important as the belief itself.

If Henry Adams was "a Darwinian for fun," the element of feeling involved is not inconsiderable; and Emerson before him may be said to have reconciled emanation and evolution "for fun," though with a difference. Emerson's polarity suggests the paired opposites of heart and head, idealism and materialism, faith and skepticism, poetry and science; but in the moment of adumbration, when the fused idea emerged clearly, it is difficult to say that Emerson "believed" in emanation exclusively with heart and accepted it solely as poetry and that he "believed" in evolution exclusively with head and accepted it solely as materialistic science. Emersonian "fun" lay in the dominant role of the imagination and the consequent boldness of the venture. Is there not something audacious in a mere layman's accepting evolution as early as 1845? And later, as Moncure Conway tells the story, is there not something amusing in this layman's pointing out to Agassiz, who steadfastly refused to accept evolution, that his own work in embryology gave hints of the disputed doctrine? The point is that Emerson escaped the revulsion of feeling that many idealistic thinkers like Coleridge experienced for what they called "the bestial theory." Fully conscious of what biological evolution meant, although without the detailed proofs that Darwin was to supply, Emerson married this most materialistic doctrine to the most idealistic. The marriage of Othello and Desdemona was not more dialectical.

One must distinguish between the specific occurrence of a certain element in a writer's work and the larger, pervasive influence exerted by that element. Thus, Emerson's references to evolution are scant enough; but the importance to Emerson, especially after 1850, of the fact of evolution is considerable. His view of nature, for one thing, became far less metaphysical and correspondingly more physical, as his essay "Fate" in the Conduct of Life amply demonstrates; and critics and teachers who are inclined to dismiss the early prose rhapsody Nature because it is too improbably metaphysical have some respect for "Fate" because, in the critical language now in vogue, it is "tough-minded." The influence of evolution may be seen not only in Emerson's increasingly physical view of nature but also in his concept of the development of nations and his concept of the culture of the individual.

The evolutionary influence may be seen in Emerson's book of travel, English Traits, based on two trips abroad, the first in 1833 and the second, a lecture tour, in 1848, and on much reading in English legendry and history. The title betrays the American inclination for abstraction and generalization reenforced by the growing habit of expanding in geological reaches of time, for Emerson's observations and speculations range from "that fortunate day when a wave of the German Ocean burst the old isthmus which joined Kent and Cornwall to France" to the epoch of the Druids at Stonehenge and thence to modern industrialized England with its daily publication of the London Times. Emerson sees a nation evolving and yet exhibiting a sturdy uniformity of impulse and character under the transformation.

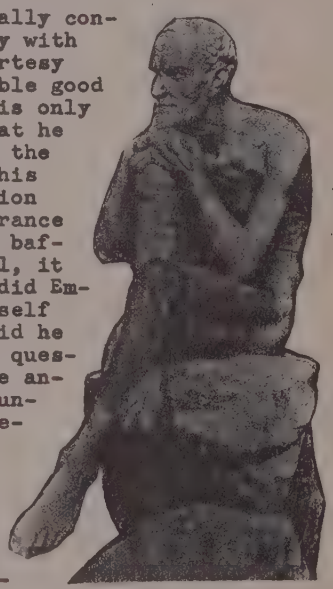
On the subject of culture Emerson may be interestingly contrasted to Arnold, the prophet of "sweetness and light" to the Age of Social Darwinism. If Arnold justified his view of a basically literary education for the majority of mankind with an appeal to human nature, Emerson looked at human nature and culture against the backdrop of geological ages and suggested the infinite possibilities of so contemplating man: "Very few of our race can be said to be yet finished men. We still carry sticking to us some remains of the preceding inferior quadruped organization. We call these millions men; but they are not yet men. Half engaged in the soil, pawing to get free, man needs all the music that can be brought to disengage him." When Emerson mentions music the contrast between his evolutionary view of culture and Arnold's literary view disappears; and in so readily adapting the idea of evolution both to the life of a nation and to the culture of the individual Emerson gives every evidence of having transformed a concept and a system of factual proofs into sentiment and hope that in the Victorian Age seemed not unreasonably optimistic.

But cosmic optimism is balanced by cosmic skepticism; and if the one descended from Plotinus' heaven and the other reached up from Oken's Urschleim to meet at the midpoint in man, it is only fair, while giving greater prominence to the affirmations, to give full scope to the negations in Emerson. For it is the latter that in our day might conceivably attract and even begin to fascinate the student of our literature. Both Greek philosophy and modern science encouraged in Emerson a feeling that went so deep as to be, in effect, irresistible habit. So accustomed was he to the timeless and the flowing that when he descended from his cosmic vantage point he found personality difficult and baffling. He had become far-sighted and could not deal comfortably with people close at hand.

There is, of course, some exaggeration in putting the matter as I have. Emerson's temperamental aloofness and his recurring illness had their effect also; but however accounted for, the mystery of personality constitutes a not insignificant facet of Emerson's complex vision. "It is the largest part of a man that is not inventoried," he said. "He has many enumerable parts: he is social, professional, political, sectarian, literary, and is this or that set and corporation. But after the most exhausting census has been made, there remains as much more which no tongue can tell. And this remainder is that which interests."

The convergence of evolution and emanation on the problem of personality creates an ambiguity. Given vast ages for the performance of the task, culture may eventually produce the superior being; but in Neo-Platonic terms this physical realm is the abode of perversion, illusion, and skepticism. Anticipating Whitman in his Romantic anguish over the puzzle of identity, Emerson declared that "the Fall of Man is the discovery that we exist." "On the brink of the waters of life and truth," he said, "we are miserably dying." "We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles." And the reason is that when a human soul enters the physical realm and assumes an identity, it separates itself from the Eternal and the One, with which alone there is real existence; hence we cannot really know that superior being who may be our companion or friend, and perhaps we cannot rightly know ourselves. In "Days" Emerson depicts himself as making some bad choices, and in "Hamatreya" he portrays the Yankee land-owners as dominated by illusion because they think that they possess the land that, in fact, possesses them. Not only are individuals mysterious and baffling to themselves, they also clamor for some kind of illumination; thus in another poem Emerson imagines a throng demanding to know what they are: "Judgment and a judge we seek."

These views on personality are in a measure Emerson's response to the many young people who, finding life difficult, came to him for answers. The cry all around him was that life was empty, and the young people suffered from boredom for want of a purpose that might absorb all their energies and talents. The French word <u>ennui</u> came to the lips and occurred on the printed page often enough in a period in which this sign of philosophical purposelessness and emotional exhaustion is a social phenomenon of no little significance. It is no great matter that Emerson could offer no direct panaceas. In lectures, essays, poems, journal entries, and more than a handful of brilliant letters to Margaret Fuller and Caroline Sturgis he dealt with the subject in a thoroughly honest and profoundly moving fashion. He admitted his own embarrassing deficiencies in personal encounter. To be sure, he repeated his own philosophical message as the only true way he knew for man to solve the problem of identity: man must manage somehow to live in harmony with himself and nature, and to do this he must, like the ancient Greeks and the best modern examples, develop both poetical and scientific views of the same large sphinx-like subject. In much of this kind of emphasis—the harmonious unfolding of man's total personality and capacity—Emerson held constantly before himself the great model of recent times, Goethe. And Goethe must have been privy to these secrets of the confessional, for he created, out of his own awareness of these difficulties, the great type of the intellectually bored trifler, Mephistopheles.



"MEPHISTOPHELES." Mark Antocolsky.

Emerson usually confronted society with such grave courtesy and imperturbable good sense that it is only fair to ask what he was like under the skin. If in this realm of illusion and mere appearance personality is baffling, how well, it may be asked, did Emerson know himself and how much did he reveal? These questions cannot be answered with abundant detail, because much of what Emerson shows in his public career, that he is in his private life. The cosmic optimism, the serene reliance on nature's laws, the urbane metaphysics are projections of the man himself. But as we have examined Emerson's intellectual strategy it has become apparent that the man was aware of a crack in the universe, recognized the necessity of skepticism, and admitted the difficulties of personality. What, then, of himself? Was he aware of the irrational depths, the veiled psychological truths, and their importance to the total personality?

If there was a rebel in Emerson, if he occasionally burst forth—especially in correspondence with Margaret Fuller—with threats to run amuck, if he was interested in dreams and what they signified, if he exhibited an inclination toward vagabondage, as for example in the attraction that gypsies had for him, if all this is true

of Emerson it must nevertheless be added that he kept these unconventional impulses in check, expressed them only in literary form, and had a discriminating respect for the social forms. It is characteristic of him that the two important rebellious sallies that he made, first in the Divinity School Address in 1838 and secondly in the question of slavery after 1850, were on grounds of intellect and conscience.

The ample portion of Emerson's work devoted to the enigmas of personality should find favor today, even though our terms are psychological and his were fundamentally metaphysical. The conversion of terms should be easy to effect, since the substance is pretty much the same. In literary history, as well as in the life that literature portrays, this conversion has always been going on; and in fact, the function of a middleman like Emerson lay in this conversion.

But there is more. In poems and journal entries Emerson revealed a more personal side than he permitted to show in his lectures and essays. Illusion and skepticism occasionally darken into pessimism and melancholy; and it is not the vogue of existential anguish in our time that makes me say that a not too slender anthology of pessimisms could be culled from Emerson's work. A fair portion of the pessimism is directed toward topics of the day--American character, education, the Mexican War, slavery, and the like; but an equally large part is concerned with the philosophic question that may be said to be Emerson's major preoccupation and that links his early, middle, and late career, emanation and evolution, and the mysteries of personality. That question is the disharmony in man consequent upon his falling away from nature, a further degree in Emerson's own version of the fable in Genesis. The terms once again are metaphysical, but it is hard to believe that Emerson did not also consider the matter psychologically as we would today. In one poem he represents man as vitally hurt in divorcing himself from nature and then, in compensation, masking his hurt with science. In the context science does not mean physics or biology but know-it-all schemes of reform that, in Emerson's view, are merely patchwork not at all touching the important defect in man himself. Philosophically one of Emerson's most important poems is "The Sphinx," and in it the same theme is given a spacious contrapuntal development:

"Sea, earth, air, sound, silence
Plant, quadruped, bird,
By one music enchanted,
One deity stirred,—
. . . . . .
"But man crouches and blushes,
Absconds and conceals;
He creepeth and peepeth,
He palters and steals;
Infirm, melancholy,
Jealous glancing around,
An eaf, an accomplice,
He poisons the ground."

The view of Emerson that I have asked you to share with me this evening imparts the human shading to the divine aspect. Perhaps no other living writer has been so critically sensitive as Lewis Mumford (who certainly finds little today to be complacent about) in putting the relationship between men of ideas and their own and subsequent generations in proper focus: "I would not for a moment have you suppose that either Rousseau or Freud or yet the Romantic poets and novelists, by themselves, brought about the condition we now face. To hold that view would in itself be to descend to the primitive level of so much current thinking." If Mumford may be regarded as, in part, a disciple of Emerson it is because he has taken Emerson's truly creative insight on the harmonious development of personality and reinterpreted it for us. It is with this perception in mind that Mumford observes: "Yet man's highest work of art is neither a poem nor a symphony, neither a mathematical equation nor a city: his highest work of art is himself. Perhaps only once or twice in a generation is the ideal self of a culture incarnated in a living person: a Sophocles for Greece, a Dante for medieval Italy, a Milton for England, a Goethe for Germany, an Emerson for New England."

Whatever Emerson's final merit may be, my own interest in this talk has been to show something of Emerson's specific quality as it informed ideas. And such an interest I do not consider a merely frivolous literary game to pass the time until the rockets fall. Quality of thought and personality ought to be one of the humanist's main concerns; and mayhap, through this kind of close and sympathetic understanding we may be permitted to understand something else, though we may not now understand [illegible] that can be.

RAPPACCINI'S LITERARY GARDENS

By THOMAS F. WALSH, JR.

In "Rappaccini's Daughter" two direct comparisons are made between Rappaccini's garden and the garden of Eden. [illegible] the tale Giovanni wonders, "Was this gar-

den, then, the Eden of the present world? And this man...was he the Adam?"[1] At another point Hawthorne describes Giovanni as hastening "into that Eden of poisonous flowers" (II, 154). And there are other Biblical touches, such as the "serpent-like" plants, to further the analogy. But difficulties arise when the analogy is pushed too far. For instance, if Beatrice is Eve, how does one account for the fact that her bodily corruption in no way corresponds to her spiritual state? Such a question has caused many critics to feel that Hawthorne has led them on a symbolic wild goose chase and to conclude that he has failed to control his material.[2] But such difficulties disappear when the reader considers the Biblical allusions in conjunction with the classical and Spenserian allusions in the tale. Such a consideration makes it clear how far the symbolism in the tale should be pushed.

Hawthorne alludes to classical mythology in the person of Vertumnus, whose vine-shrouded statue is found in Rappaccini's garden. The statue's presence is appropriate since Vertumnus is, among other things, a god of vegetation, but he is a comparatively obscure deity, who must have brought to Hawthorne's mind the only story with which his name is associated. And that is the story, told by Ovid in his Metamorphoses (XIV.623ff.), in which Vertumnus, vying with Sylvanus, Pan, and other satyrs and fauns, entered the garden of Pomona and won the heart of the desirable nymph, who, like Beatrice, excelled in her love and cultivation of the garden. The Pomona-Beatrice, Vertumnus-Giovanni parallel becomes even more interesting when it is remembered that Milton, one of Hawthorne's favorite authors, alludes to Ovid's story in Paradise Lost (IX.395-595), comparing Eve, in her gardening capacity, to Pomona:

> To Pales, or Pomona thus adorned,
> Likeliest she seemed, Pomona when she fled
> Vertumnus....

The story of Pomona and Vertumnus is important because elsewhere Hawthorne uses fauns and nymphs to portray a pre-Adamite world of innocent animal spirits—an amoral world, untroubled by the knowledge of good and evil. Thus he describes the frivolous revellers of Merry Mount before the advent of Endicott: "It could not be that the fauns and nymphs, when driven from their classic groves and homes of ancient fable, had sought refuge, as all the persecuted did, in the fresh woods of the West. These were Gothic monsters, though perhaps of Grecian ancestry" (I, 71). And, of course, there is Donatello before he commits his original sin; his classical features and brown ringlets prompt his friends to compare him to the marble faun. It is interesting to note that Giovanni's head is remarkably similar to Donatello's: "rather a Grecian than an Italian head, with fair regular features, and a glistening of gold among the ringlets" (II, 121). Thus Giovanni can be said to resemble the classical deity, Vertumnus, just as Donatello resembles the marble faun.

Rappaccini's garden, then, suggests a Biblical and classical garden of joy and innocence, but only for the purposes of melancholic contrast, for this is the "Eden of the present world," the world after the Fall, and Vertumnus' statue is shrouded by a serpentine growth. Giovanni is the Vertumnus of the present world, the god-like physical characteristics which he retains reflecting a sort of innocence which renders him incapable of fully comprehending the world he wanders into. He is morally shrouded in a serpentine growth and cannot recognize the nature of evil, either as it exists in the present world or in himself. More will be said of Giovanni's failings below.

Spenser's Faerie Queene, is, in many ways, Hawthorne's most important source in his depiction of the Eden of the present world. Similarities between Beatrice in her garden and Acrasia in the Bower of Bliss have been suggested by others,[3] but many more specific parallels between the two gardens can be drawn. For instance, both gardens contain sculptured fountains emitting sparkling pure water, both gardens contain creeping plants and references to snakes, and both gardens are enclosed—Giovanni, like Guyon, gaining entrance through the agency of another. But much more important is the nature of the cultivation in each. In Spenser we read:

> Thus being entred, they behold around
> A large and spacious plaine, on euery side
> Stowed with pleasaunts, whose faire grassy ground
> Mantled the greene, and goodly beautifide
> With all the ornaments of Floraes pride,
> Wherewith her mother Art, as half in scorne
> Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride
> Did decke her, and too lauishly adorne,
> When forth from virgin bowre she comes in
> th'early morne. (F.Q., II.xii.50).

Hawthorne writes: "Several shrubs also would have shocked a delicate instinct by an appearance of artificialness indicating that there had been such commixture, and, as it were, adultery, of various vegetable species, that the production was no longer of God's making, but the monstrous offspring of man's depraved fancy, glowing with only an evil mockery of beauty" (II, 128). Elsewhere Hawthorne refers to the "too luxuriant shrub." Thus both gardens are identical in their excess; in both nature has been tampered with, "Art" in the Bower of Bliss and science in Rappaccini's garden producing similar corruptions.

By its very nature the Bower of Bliss is a fitting habitat for Acrasia, its luxuriant excess mirroring her erotic nature as the enemy of temperance. The relation between garden and occupant is made quite specific in the lay that is chanted while Acrasia luxuriates on her "bed of Roses" (F.Q., II. xii):

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The whiles some one did chaunt this lously lay;
Ah see, who so faire thing doest faine to see,
In springing flowre the image of thy day;
Ah see the Virgin Rose, how sweetly shee
Doth first peepe forth with bashfull modestee,
That fairer seemes, the lesse ye see her may;
Lo see soone after, how more bold and free
Her bared bosome she doth broad display; [away.
Loe see soone after, how she fades, and falles

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So passeth, in the passing of a day,
Of mortall life the leafe, the bud, the flowre,
No more doth flourish after first decay,
That earst was sought to decke both bed and bowre,
Of many a Ladie, and many a Paramowre:
Gather therefore the Rose, whilest yet is prime,
For soone comes age, that will her pride deflowre:
Gather the Rose of loue, whilest yet is time,
Whilest louing thou mayst loued be with equall
crime.

In Spenser the erotic connection between Acrasia and her roses is specific. Hawthorne would not need to rely on Spenser for the flower symbolism as such, but, in the light of the many parallels between Rappaccini's garden and the Bower of Bliss, it seems more than likely that Hawthorne had the above passage in mind when he related Beatrice to her passionate purple flowers and that he intended, in his own way, the symbolic significance to be sexual.

It is now possible to tie together the garden of Eden, Pomona's garden, and the Bower of Bliss. Hawthorne pictured man before the Fall in terms of classical mythology. He specifically chose fauns, satyrs, and nymphs to convey his idea of man's innocent animal state, his choice indicating that he was thinking, at least subconsciously, of the sexual nature of his representatives. Evidences in "Rappaccini's Daughter" of the fact that this innocent world has been corrupted have already been pointed out. Rappaccini's garden is Eden after the Fall, in which man, with his knowledge of good and evil, has lost his sexual innocence. Hawthorne draws on the Bower of Bliss because it illustrates man's sexual intemperance. Acrasia and Beatrice are similar in that they both serve as a source of temptation to man as represented by Guyon and Giovanni. (Giovanni is representative of young manhood for he is given an opportunity that <u>all</u> the young men of Padua longed for: Baglioni tells him that "all ...are wild about" Beatrice.) This is not to say that any moral similarities between Beatrice and Acrasia are intended, for the former, Hawthorne makes quite explicit, is morally pure. But physical similarities there are. Beatrice's purple flowers symbolize her corrupted sexual nature. The irony is not that the flowers are poisonous <u>and</u> beautiful, but poisonous <u>because</u> beautiful—that is, Beatrice is corrupted in the sense that she is a child of Adam, her very beauty making her that much more dangerous to man, whose sexual impulses, according to Hawthorne's vision of the results of the Fall, now have moral implications that they did not have before the Fall.

The sexual overtones of "Rappaccini's Daughter" have been overlooked by most commentators.[4] Nevertheless they are there, not only in the nature of Hawthorne's sources but in his handling of Giovanni's experience, which must now be examined at length.

Hawthorne describes Giovanni's first impression of Beatrice in language that leaves nothing to the imagination: "She looked redundant with life, health, and energy; all of which attributes were bound down and compressed, as it were, and girdled tensely, in their luxuriance, by her virgin zone" (II, 113). This is a key passage. The association of Beatrice's luxuriance with her virgin zone should be remembered as the symbolism of the luxuriant purple flowers is developed. And Giovanni, as he gazes at her for the first time, makes the association between Beatrice and the flowers, sensing almost immediately something dangerous in that association. But it should be remembered that the feeling of danger—of something vaguely forbidden—springs simultaneously with his awareness of her luxuriance, and, of course, precedes any knowledge of the fact that she and the flowers are poisonous; the point is that this is not merely a case of Hawthornian foreshadowing, but that the poison symbolizes, obscurely at this point, Giovanni's moral nature. It is not irresponsible to suggest that the poison has such symbolic significance when Hawthorne's conception of the Fall is remembered. Beatrice is the <u>femme fatale</u> only because man's nature is corrupted. In other words, she could not infect Giovanni unless his nature were susceptible to infection. The course of the tale and Beatrice's words at its end, "Oh, was there not, <u>from the first</u>, more poison in thy nature than in mine?" (II, 147; italics added) bear out such an interpretation.

The language in the rest of the tale is not as pointed as that of the passage referring to Beatrice's virgin zone. It is not just that Hawthorne felt that the evil

he was describing necessitated a polite circumspection, but that the full significance of Giovanni's experience had to be handled below the level of his consciousness, for the tale deals primarily with his experience, rather than Beatrice's, handled from his point of view, and it is his tragedy that he never fully realizes the significance of that experience. At times he is at least partially aware of Beatrice's noble nature, but, we are told, he cannot sustain his appreciation: "he fell down, grovelling among earthly doubts, and defiled therewith the pure whiteness of Beatrice's image" (II, 159). Time and time again Hawthorne reminds us that what Giovanni feels for her is not love, but only its semblance. Although he is never explicit, he describes Giovanni's "madness" in terms of sexual passion. For instance, when Beatrice strays beneath his window, Giovanni "was compelled to thrust his head quite out of its concealment in order to gratify the intense and painful curiosity she excited" (II, 120). Prior to his entrance into the garden, "his pulses throbbed with feverish blood at the improbable idea of an interview with Beatrice" (II, 127), a reaction consistent with his "ardent southern temperament." "Compelled," "gratify," "excited," pulses throbbing with "feverish blood,"—such words typify the language Hawthorne chooses to describe Giovanni's experience. The language suggests the experience of a person in the throes of sexual passion.

Giovanni's first interview with Beatrice needs to be discussed in the light of the flower symbolism. In his first words to her he asks her to be his "instructress" "in the virtues indicated by these rich blossoms and these spicy perfumes" (II, 129). Of course, on the factual level he is referring to the false report that Beatrice is as skilled a scientist as her father, but on the symbolic level something else is suggested. Beatrice, disclaiming any scientific knowledge, replies, "Believe nothing of me save what you see with your own eyes." Already suspecting the poisonous nature of the flowers, Giovanni misunderstands her, parrying with "Bid me believe nothing save what comes from your own lips." But Beatrice, responding to "his gaze of uneasy suspicion with a queenlike haughtiness," elaborates on what she has already said: "Forget whatever you may have fancied in regard to me. If true to the outward senses, still it may be false in its essence; but the words of Beatrice Rappaccini's lips are true from the depths of the heart outward. Those you may believe" (II, 150). This whole passage has a double-entendre. Beatrice tells Giovanni that she does not have the kind of knowledge that he suggests. She tells him not to believe what he fancies—and we know that he has been living in the unhealthy world of his fancies—and to realize that what is true to the outward senses is false in its essence. But Giovanni's failing is that he cannot escape from his fancies, that he cannot, for any length of time, transcend his outward senses which comprehend only the physical. In proof of this tragic shortcoming and despite what Beatrice has just told him, he attempts to pluck one of the purple flowers which he has dreamed about from the first and which from the first he sensed was dangerous. But Beatrice prevents him. In the light of Spenser's passage which connects Acrasia and her roses and in the light of the connection that Hawthorne makes between Beatrice's luxuriance and her virgin zone, it is clear that the shallow youth at this point attempts a symbolic sexual intercourse with Beatrice and, of course, is thwarted in his attempt. Because of his inability to realize that the Eden of the present world consists of both good and evil, he beguiles himself into believing that all is good, even his passion for Beatrice. His attempt to pluck the flower marks the turning point of the tale and the beginning of his infection by a <u>physical</u> poison. When he finally becomes aware of the infection, he shudders at the reflection of himself in the mirror—that is, he feels guilt and is disgusted with himself for his past actions. He can no longer persuade himself that there is no evil, but he still cannot comprehend its nature. He now goes to the other extreme and thinks that Beatrice is all evil. Like Adam with Eve he puts the full blame on her for his fall. But even in his anger with her his physical passion has not abated; we are told that he "was affrighted at the eager enjoyment—the appetite, as it were—with which he found himself inhaling the fragrance of the flowers (II, 142). At the instigation of Baglioni, his bad angel throughout the tale, he attempts to purge Beatrice of an evil that he does not comprehend and she falls victim to that tragic incomprehension. She speaks for the author in her evaluation of his character: "Oh, was there not, from the first, more poison in thy nature than in mine?"

I have shown that Hawthorne draws on classical mythology and Spenser in addition to the Bible in his depiction of Rappaccini's garden. Once the reader understands how these three sources complement each other, then he will not make the mistake of pushing Hawthorne's symbolism too far. The symbolic area is limited by the author's vision of the sexual implications of the Fall, as they are objectified in the experience of Giovanni. The reader will not object to the fact that Beatrice's physical and spiritual natures do not correspond. He will understand precisely in what way "Flower and maiden were different,

and yet the same," and will realize that Hawthorne had complete control over his symbolic material.

—Georgetown University.

1 The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, ed. George Parsons Lathrop, Boston (Standard Library), 1883, II, 112. All subsequent references are to this text.
2 For instance, Austin Warren, Hawthorne, N.Y., 1934, p. 367, objects to the "false symbolism" of the tale; and Richard H. Fogle, Hawthorne's Fiction, Norman, Okla., 1952, p. 91, finds "the symbolism of Beatrice Rappaccini puzzling."
3 See Fogle, op. cit., 101-102, and Roy R. Male, Hawthorne's Tragic Vision, Austin, 1957, p. 69. Herbert A. Leibowitz, "Hawthorne and Spenser: Two Sources," A L, XXX, no. 4 (Jan., 1959), 459-566, points out the luxuriance and artificiality of both gardens, but does not relate these similarities to the persons of Acrasia and Beatrice.
4 See Charles Boewe, "Rappaccini's Garden," A L, XXX, no. 1 (March, 1958), 37-49. Discussing the tale against the nineteenth-century attitude toward hybrid flowers, he is the first to suggest the sexual implications of Rappaccini's garden.

EMERSON AND "THE MORAL SENTIMENT"

By JOHN Q. ANDERSON

Emerson's use of the phrase, "the moral sentiment," in his evaluation of Milton and Shakespeare illustrates his ability to synthesize ideas. "The moral sentiment" is his fusion of a philosophical theory, originally called "the moral sense," and his own interpretation of intuitive perception.

Emerson probably first encountered the theory of "the moral sense" in Prof. Levi Frisbie's class in philosophy at Harvard, in which Frisbie expounded the concept as elaborated by the Scottish philosopher Dugald Stewart.[1] In protest against the rationalistic psychology of Locke and his followers, Stewart emphasized the Shaftesbury-Hutcheson theory of "the moral sense." Emerson was probably aware of an article on Adam Smith's observations on the subject in which Frisbie concluded that it regulates and guides the affections and powers, and conducts man to the proper end of his being.

In his detailed study called Moral Sense (1930), James Bonar traces the idea of "the moral sense" from Shaftesbury, who proposed the concept to account for the origin of ethics.[2] Shaftesbury offered it as a special faculty which perceives right decisions and perhaps even right principles, though he was careful not to say that this sense is innate. He did imply, however, that it is beyond the usual bodily senses and perhaps is comparable to instinct in that it is a "preconception" which apprehends right and wrong intuitively. Virtue depends, Shaftesbury maintained, on a knowledge of right and wrong, and even the wickedest of men have some degree of this moral faculty.

According to Bonar, Francis Hutcheson, who in An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue (1725) acknowledged his debt to Shaftesbury, formulated about 1729 Shaftesbury's suggestion of "the moral sense" as a philosophical theory. Equally as conscious as Shaftesbury of the opposition to innate ideas, Hutcheson also maintained that "the moral sense" was not innate. Employing another Shaftesburian idea, that of the utilitarian concept, Hutcheson argued against the Hobbes-Mandeville theory of self-love as the chief motivation of man's actions and offered benevolence as the main motivation. Hutcheson did not, however, dismiss the self-love theory; he argued that self-love leads to benevolence which in turn is dictated by "the moral sense." Furthermore, he classified the latter as the first of the "internal senses"——as above the "sense of beauty," the "sense of honour," and the "public sense"—all in addition to the usual five senses. Still denying that "the moral sense" is innate, Hutcheson compared it, nevertheless, to the inward monitor of Socrates. Above the faculty of reason, it approves, points out, recommends, and helps decide what is ultimate.

Through his books, which were used at Harvard when Emerson was a student there, Dugald Stewart became the main purveyor of the Shaftesbury-Hutcheson theory of "the moral sense." Emerson studied one of them,[3] consulted another,[4] and after graduation read a third.[5] Stewart explained that "the moral sense" has pre-eminence over all man's appetites, desires, affections, and self-love. In addition to being the means of receiving impressions of right and wrong, it is an original and universal principle of the mind, and it commands the love and admiration of moral excellence, the conviction of the moral administration of the universe, and the belief in a future life.[6] To the young Emerson (Stephen Whicher says),[7]

> ...this benevolent notion meant that conscience was not to be explained naturalistically. It was as religion taught, the voice of God in the soul, teaching us an unquestionable law of conduct, testifying to the reality of a divine authority, and assuring us of the moral administration of the universe.

Emerson, the prospective minister, found the concept of "the moral sense" theologically sound, though characteristically he modified it to read "the moral sentiment" when he used it as a topic for a sermon.[8] Perhaps he chose "sentiment" to replace "sense" to convey more subtle

overtones of feeling than "sense" in its philosophical usage represented.

After Emerson resigned from the ministry and came more directly under the influence of Transcendentalism, he became more interested in the intuitive perception of the universal truths behind outward appearances. In a lecture in 1836 he referred to "the moral sentiment" as a trustworthy guide in that quest.[9] He first used the phrase as a critical term in a lecture on Milton in 1835.[10] Emerson's delight in Comus and Lycidas in his student days had deepened into a profound esteem for Milton the man and poet. "Milton stands erect, commanding," he told his Boston audience, "still visible as a man among men, and reads the laws of the moral sentiment to the new-born race."[11] Milton's manly character, his "just and devout" attitude, his love of moral perfection, and his dedication to the high calling of serious poetry—all these made "the man... paramount to the poet." Milton, Emerson felt at that time, had fulfilled the office of the great man better than any others:

> ...namely, to raise the idea of Man in the minds of his contemporaries and of posterity—to draw after Nature a life of man, exhibiting such a composition of grace, of strength and of virtue, as poet had not described nor hero lived. Human nature in these ages is indebted to him for its best portrait.[12]

To accomplish so much, Milton had, Emerson believed, subordinated his gifts to his moral sentiment, "tasked his giant imagination and exhausted the stores of his intellect for an end beyond, namely, to teach."[13] Milton as "teacher" appealed to Emerson because Milton's life and works, directed by "the moral sentiment," exemplified the unconquerable will of the individual when guided by intuition.

Ten years later, in 1845, Emerson gave the lecture on Shakespeare which eventually became part of Representative Men. As the "poet of the human race," Shakespeare had so influenced literature, philosophy, and thought that they were now "Shakespearized." Emerson regretted that the sonnets had been overshadowed by the plays, since Shakespeare's unique creative faculty far surpassed his dramatic merit. Because Shakespeare saw "the splendor of meaning that plays over the visible world" and was able to use the whole of nature to symbolize his meaning, he had, Emerson felt, the very key that would unlock the door to universal truths, the spiritual facts that Emerson believed stood behind all natural facts. But Shakespeare did not use the magic key; he did not take "the step which seemed inevitable to such genius, namely, to explore the virtue which resides in these symbols," that is, to show what the symbols mean. Emerson did not speak of "the moral sentiment" in connection with Shakespeare at all. Evidently, he did not find evidence of the supreme intuitive faculty, or rather an explicit statement of its results; thus Shakespeare was not the great teacher that Milton was. Shakespeare was but "the master of the revels to mankind."[14] This much-discussed damning of Shakespeare is perhaps best explained by Whicher, who points out that Emerson had great difficulty in judging Shakespeare by Transcendental standards. Shakespeare "lacked a full measure of the great Transcendental faculty of reason, spiritual intuition," Whicher explains. It must be remembered, however, that Emerson chose Shakespeare to represent man as poet in Representative Men.

The choice was not easy for Emerson. Milton came nearer meeting the requisites of the poet as man than Shakespeare because Milton was more nearly Man Thinking—the combination of action, reflection, and expression. Milton, however, was not the great artist Shakespeare was because Milton was "too literary." "His fancy," said Emerson, "is never transcendent, extravagant," as Shakespeare's often was.[15] On the other hand, Milton's profundity equalled Shakespeare's, if not actually exceeded it. Also, Milton's power of transcendency was great, Emerson acknowledged, perhaps equal to that of Shakespeare—not in the creative imagination but in what Milton said. Shakespeare had no consistent "moral tone" or "moral sentiment." Still, in Emerson's judgment, Shakespeare's creative genius elevated him nearer to the ideal poet than any other man who had ever lived.

The concept of "the moral sentiment" therefore served Emerson well in his literary criticism of Milton, though it was less helpful in judging Shakespeare. Had the characters and abilities of Milton and Shakespeare been joined in one individual, the result would have been an ideal poet, guided by "the moral sentiment" to perceive intuitively truth, beauty, and goodness and to express them so glowingly that men would be transported thereby into the realm of the universal.

—Texas A. and M. College.

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1 Ralph L. Rusk, The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson, N.Y., 1949, p. 81. 2 N.Y., 1930, passim.
3 Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, cited in Stephen E. Whicher, Freedom and Fate, Philadelphia, 1953, p. 14 and note on p. 175, which summarizes an article by M. R. Davis, "Emerson's 'Reason' and the Scottish Philosophers."
4 Outlines of Moral Philosophy.
5 A General View of the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, read in 1822. See Whicher, op. cit., p. 176. Emerson, in 1821, owned Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments.

6 Whicher, op. cit., 175. 7 Ibid., 14.
8 Rusk, op. cit., 158. 9 Ibid., 247.
10 Emerson's Works, XII, 247-279. This lecture was delivered as one of six lectures on biography and was first printed in the North American Review, July, 1838. 11 Ibid., XII, 253-254.
12 Ibid., XII, 254. 13 Ibid., XII, 277.
14 Ibid., IV, 217. 15 Ibid., XII, 274.

JOHN SHEPARD KEYES' REMINISCENCES OF EMERSON

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

John Shepard Keyes, a Concord boy who entered Harvard in September, 1837, just as Thoreau was about to graduate, spent the night in Henry's room and jotted down in his diary one of the most significant glimpses we have of Thoreau in the midst of his college friends.[1] He was graduated from Harvard in the Class of 1841, spending the remainder of his life in his native town. The records of the Concord Academy under the preceptorship of Phineas Allen tell us what "parts" he had in the public exhibitions of that institution.[2] The extensive obituary printed in the Boston Globe for May 16, 1910, and reprinted in my article, "Memorabilia of Thoreau's Concord Academy Friends," indicates his importance as a lawyer, judge, and holder of Town offices. (One might add that he was a friend of the Concord school of writers.)[3] He was prominent in the observance of the Emerson Centennial of 1903.[4] The splendid article about his youth and early manhood in the Social Circle Memoirs is based upon his valuable manuscript autobiography, now a primary document for literary and political Concord of the nineteenth century.[5] The following manuscript, owned by the Concord Free Public Library and here published with the permission of Mrs. Dorothy Nyren, librarian, was prepared in his old age for a local celebration, one of many in which he participated.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

By John Shepard Keyes

My first distinct recollection of Emerson was at the 250 anniversary of Concord when he delivered the oration in the old meeting house on the Common, Sept. 12 1835. That day in the prime of his manhood in his spare form, his erect figure his graceful manner, his warming smile and his charming voice he impressed me by his Eloquence as he did the crowded audience Perhaps today of his centenary year mine are the only living ears that heard his words. As the [crowd] filled the old church so different from the usual Sunday services there, it was the strong Saxon words on the early history of the town its Indian wars, its revolutionary fight, its every day affairs, its fine lessons, that impressed me as the first real eloquence I had ever heard, and it still remains after so many years the most vivid and distinct Its effect on the audience was so inspiring moving them to tears and to smiles that it was a revelation to many of his power and his ability, though they had often heard him from that pulpit in his Sunday Sermons. When he read from his grandfathers diary in the old almanac, the account of the 19th of April 1775, there was a hush over the large assembly as if the former pastor had returned to utter the words of that clearest account of the events of that birthday of American Liberty. The g[r]oup of gray haired veterans of Concord Fight with tears starting from their eyes rose in silence at the memories it awakened, and he went forth from that meeting and the warm applause of his hearers with the look of a bride groom.

He was married at Plymouth the next day. My next recollection was meeting Emerson and his bride on their return to Concord as they drove to the Old Manse to visit Dr Ripley. His smile and her face as they passed will never escape from my memory. At his residence on Lexington road where his brother Charles then my Sunday School teacher lived and whom I like his other scholars adored, gave me an occasional meeting with Emerson and his greeting to us boys was a benediction, and for the two years before my college days began I heard his lectures at the Lyceum, and his Sermons in the old pulpit on rare Sundays when he exchanged with the Concord ministers with pleasure if not profit. Of his bride whose beauty grace and stateliness fitted her as the mate of the scholar, the poet, and the orator, it was my honor, or my impudence to be her partner in her first dance in Concord. Of this Mrs. Emerson often in later years reminded me speaking of it with a quiet smile probably from the grotesqueness of the incident that [at] her first dancing party a boy of 15 should have asked her hand for the contra dance, when many grown men stood dazed by her dignity and style and doubtful of their duty to the bride of the party. It was I think at my fathers house a "sociable" an informal dance of the neighbours old and young with John Wesson's fiddle for the music, much like those of later years given by Miss Ellen [Emerson]—— It may have been this [my] being her first partner, that gave a tone of welcome and kindliness to all our after intercourse as I recall the many years of gracious acquaintance with Mrs Emerson.

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1 See Kenneth W. Cameron, "Thoreau's Three Months out of Harvard and his First Publication," E S Q, no. 5 (IV Quarter 1956), pp. 2-12, esp. p. 2.

2 See Kenneth W. Cameron, "Young Henry Thoreau in the Annals of the Concord Academy (1829-1833)," E S Q, no. 9 (IV Quarter 1957), pp. 1-42, esp. pp. 13-14. [p. 38.

3 E S Q, no. 11 (II Quarter 1958), pp. 24-46, esp.

4 See Kenneth W. Cameron, Emerson, Thoreau and Concord in Early Newspapers, Hartford, 1958, index and passim.

5 See Amelia F. Emerson, "John Shepard Keyes," Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle of Concord, (5th Series), Cambridge, 1940, pp. 71-93.

A NOTE ON THE CONFIDENCE-MAN'S COUNTERFEIT DETECTOR

BY TED N. WEISSBUCH

One of the easily duped characters in Herman Melville's The Confidence-Man is the religious, honest, trusting old gentleman in Chapter LXV.[1] The confidence-man, in the disguise of a cosmopolitan, comes upon him late at night as he sits reading the public Bible in the gentlemen's cabin. As the two converse, a mysterious boy-peddler makes his appearance, selling the old man two items: a traveller's patent lock for the state-room door and a money belt. As an added gift, the boy presents the old man with a "Counterfeit Detector." The ephemeral nature of the periodically, issued counterfeit detectors published prior to the National Bank Act in 1863, tends to obscure the ironic humor which Melville intended for this episode. An understanding of the use made of these publications in the nineteenth century will, I believe, help to point up Melville's reason for having the boy give the old man the "batch of little papers."

Although recent articles have attempted to tear away the charges of obscurity and confusion leveled at The Confidence-Man, there remains a great deal of difference in the interpretations offered by various critics. One refers to the work as a "serious, carefully planned attempt to present one man's vision of reality";[2] another explains the novel in terms of satire or the comic allegory.[3] Whatever point of view is nearer the truth, most critics tend to agree that the story mocks the values and traditions of nineteenth-century American life. The counterfeit detectors were only one example of the evils of the age which Melville saw fit to record and satirize.

The function of the "bank note reporters and counterfeit detectors," as they were commonly called, was to make known the discount rates at which locally uncurrent bank notes passed, and to give accurate descriptions of the counterfeit, spurious, and altered bank notes which flooded the country.[4] They also listed genuine notes of failed banks altered to the names of solvent banks, and raised notes of genuine banks. The detectors made a sharp distinction between the three types of fraudulent notes. Counterfeits were described as those which were facsimiles of the genuine; spurious notes were those which differed entirely from the genuine; and altered notes were those whose title, locality, or denomination, had been extracted and some other pasted or printed in its place.[5]

The confusion which necessitated the use of the counterfeit detectors may be traced to the early coinage laws passed by Congress, which forbade any individual or state to issue coins; these laws, however, made no mention of paper money. There was no control over the many banks which, once established, began issuing notes. Consequently, as early as 1805 there was a demand for counterfeit detectors to list the "wild cat" banks which had sprung up and issued notes not backed by adequate resources. In order to evade redemption, banks were often set up in unheard-of, out-of-the-way places to which there was little likelihood that notes, once issued, would find their way back.[6]

The War of 1812 and the Panic of 1837 also added to the demand for the detectors to protect the unwary from the schemes of land speculators and "wild cat" bankers. It was not unusual for a company to form, buy western land, and immediately begin issuing worthless banknotes. Whereas some banks actually existed, others were merely names, their "offices" in the saddle bags of shrewd financiers. The entire country seemed to be inundated with colorful scraps of paper, each proclaiming its value amid romantic scenes of landscapes, historical events, classical architecture, railroad cars, ships, and domestic animals. Vignettes also appeared on the bills—majestic savages, sailors, and famous historical figures like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, or Alexander Hamilton. Since controls differed from state to state, some banks issued notes covered by their resources; others were guilty of overextending themselves.

Published in the large industrial and financial centers, the counterfeit detectors were issued semi-weekly, weekly, semi-monthly, and monthly; they circulated in every town and hamlet in the country. Pennsylvania Congressman Robert Adams, Jr., made the following remarks regarding banknote detectors before Congress:

> I hold in my hand Van Court's Bank Note Reporter, showing the rate of discount on different bank notes in the years 1856, 1857, and 1858. In conversations with my father, who was one of the old-time merchants of Philadelphia, I have heard

him say that it was absolutely necessary for every merchant and storekeeper from one end of the land to the other to subscribe for these detectors in order that he might know the rate of discount on the money which he took over his counter....[7]

Because each issue was "published in complete form,"

independent of any previous issue, it was not necessary for a subscriber to refer to previous issues. The activity of one's business would appear to dictate whether one should be a semi-weekly subscriber, or whether quotations on the rates of discount and descriptions of counterfeit notes at greater intervals might suffice.[8]

Owing to the timeliness of the information contained in each issue, the old number was thrown away as soon as the new issue was received. This fact, besides the poor quality of the paper on which they were printed, helps explain why few of them have survived. It is important to remember, however, that in Melville's time the counterfeit detector was as well known as is the financial page in today's newspaper.

Melville describes how the "clean, comely old man" in his story is bothered by the worn condition of the two bills he scrutinizes; yet merchants tended to prefer worn and dirty bills, a condition which suggested that they had seen a great deal of circulation. As the old man searches for the goose and figure of Napoleon hidden in the vignette, the cosmopolitan makes sport of him. The counterfeit detectors actually described bogus notes in the terms which Melville uses. For example, on page seven of Lord's Detector and Bank Note Vignette Describer, September 15, 1857, a counterfeit fifty-dollar note of the Southern Bank of Alabama is described in the following manner: "between signatures is a steamboat; on genuine is a dog's head; counterfeit has FIFTY across the right end of the bill; genuine has 50 on the upper corner." On the same page, the description of a counterfeit five-dollar note of the Bank of Montreal points out that "the nose of the small dog comes very near the T in 'Toronto;' in the genuine it is one-eighth of an inch from the T."[9]

The cosmopolitan also chides the old man for his distrust of the bills and for his faith in the counterfeit detector. There seems to be some justification for his skeptical view. James Gordon Bennett, publisher of The Weekly Herald, warned his readers in 1841 about mercenary brokers who published their own counterfeit detectors in New York City and Philadelphia; for a fee, they "puffed" distant banks and claimed the notes of these institutions were sound. He wrote:

We advise the public to be careful how they put confidence in these "Reporters" and "Bank Detectors," which inundate the community. These prints are more or less engaged in all the financial tricks of the age. A short time ago, "Bicknell's Reporter," published in Philadelphia, announced the revival of the River Raison Bank, of Munroe, Michigan; and that its notes were received by the Ohio Life and Trust Company at Cincinnati. This statement is now contradicted by the Ohio Life and Trust, and no doubt the River Raison Bank, is one of those impudent speculations which are got up in conjunction with such fraudulent prints as "Bicknell's Reporter."[10]

The passages quoted below (from pages 281-284 of the edition cited) may be interpreted as realistic or as comedy, but in either case Melville's rejection of counterfeit detectors may be readily noted.

With the counterfeit detector before him, the old man inspects the two bank notes which he received in St. Louis before boarding the Fidèle "with something of the air of an officer bringing by the collar a brace of culprits to the bar..." After watching him examine the notes, the cosmopolitan asks if they are genuine.

"I don't know, I don't know," returned the old man, perplexed, "there's so many marks of all sorts to go by, it makes it a kind of uncertain. Here, now, is this bill," touching one, "it looks to be a three dollar bill on the Vicksburgh Trust and Insurance Banking Company. Well, the Detector says—"

"But why, in this case, care what it says? Trust and Insurance! What more would you have?"

The old man pays no heed, but searches for the little wavy spots of red which the detector says must appear on genuine notes. At this point the cosmopolitan attacks the detector and what it stands for:

"What a peck of trouble that Detector makes for you now; believe me, the bill is good; don't be so distrustful. Proves what I've always thought, that much of the want of confidence, in these days, is owing to these Counterfeit Detectors you see on every desk and counter. Puts people up to suspecting good bills. Throw it away, I beg, if only because of the trouble it breeds you."

But the old man is not willing to give up the detector. Instead, he continues his close scrutiny of the bills, obviously missing the irony in the cosmopolitan's remarks. He answers:

"No; it's troublesome, but I think I'll keep it. —Stay, now, here's another sign. It says that, if the bill is good, it must have in one corner, mixed in with the vignette, the figure of a goose, very small, indeed, all but microscopic; and, for added precaution, like the figure of Napoleon outlined by the tree, not observable, even if magnified, unless the attention is directed to it. Now, pore over it as I will, I can't see

this goose."

"Can't see the goose? why, I can; and a famous goose it is. There" (reaching over and pointing to a spot in the vignette).

"I don't see it—dear me—I don't see the goose. Is it a real goose?"

"A perfect goose; beautiful goose."

The cosmopolitan finally loses patience with the old man. After again admonishing him to give up his "wild-goose chase," and after the old man again refuses, the cosmopolitan says, "As you please, but I can't in conscience assist you any more; pray, then, excuse me." But instead of leaving the cabin, the cosmopolitan remains at the table and reads the public Bible. The old man finally gives up his attempt to discover if the bills are authentic, and the cosmopolitan resumes their conversation, pointing out that the Bible is "on the outside, battered as any old valise in the baggage-room; and inside, white and virgin as the hearts of lilies in bud." With a final twist of the knife, he says to the old man, "I may err, but it seems to me that if more confidence was put in it by the traveling public, it would hardly be so." The old man gives his assent with "an expression very unlike that with which he had bent over the Detector."

This is Melville's comment on the old man's innate weakness, a weakness which does not allow him to see that his piety, and all that is true and permanent, reside within the unread pages of the public Bible. It is only the confidence-man who understands the strange paradox that requires the study and diligence the old man has given to the "batch of little papers." The counterfeit detector serves to reflect all the nineteenth-century mundane interest and falsity which Melville satirically condemned in his book.

—State University of Iowa.

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1 References to The Confidence-Man are from the edition of Elizabeth S. Foster, N.Y., 1954.
2 John G. Cawelti, "Some Notes on the Structure of The Confidence-Man," A L, XXIX, 278 (Nov., 1957).
3 James E. Miller, Jr., "The Confidence-Man: His Guises," P M L A, LXXIV, 102 (March, 1959).
4 The most complete account of these periodicals appears in William H. Dillistin, Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, N.Y., 1949. Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 114 (Am. Numismatic Soc.).
5 George Peyton, How To Detect Counterfeit Bank Notes, N.Y., 1861, p. 10.
6 Norman Angell, The Story of Money, N.Y., 1929, pp. 288-289.
7 Congressional Record, June 5, 1894, p. 5790. In her explanatory notes (280.11, p. 364), Miss Foster refers to the Counterfeit Detector in The Confidence-Man as "Van Court's...published semi-monthly at Philadelphia." This particular counterfeit detector was one of the more reliable ones published in that city; however, there is no textual evidence to support the claim that Melville was referring specifically to Van Court's. Dillestin lists at least three other publishers in the Philadelphia area. Melville was undoubtedly familiar with these publications, but there is no evidence that he owned or kept any of them in his library. See Merton M. Sealts, Jr., "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed," Harvard Library Bulletin, Spring, 1948, through Winter, 1950 (II, no. 2 through IV, no. 1). See also "Melville's Reading: A Supplementary List of Books Owned and Borrowed," Harvard Library Bulletin, VI. 238-247 (Spring, 1952). [XVIII.
8 Dillistin, op. cit., p. 42. 9 Ibid., plate
10 Ibid., 47. Quoted from The Weekly Herald, November 6, 1841.

A PARALLEL TO EMERSON'S "CONSCIOUS STONE"

By CURTIS DAHL

An instructive comparison can be made between Emerson's use of the phrase "conscious stone" in line 24 of "The Problem" (written 1839) and the use of the same phrase a few years earlier by William Ewart in his Newdigate Prize Poem, "The Temple of Diana at Ephesus" (1820). Emerson instances Phidias' statue of Jove, the oracles of Delphi, the Bible, the "litanies of nations," and Michaelangelo's dome of St. Peter's as works of beauty or wisdom that did not arise from "vain or shallow" thoughts or from "cunning" but almost spontaneously "rolled" in "sad sincerity" out of the "burning core" of nature or of God. Before going on to cite also the Pyramids, the Parthenon, and England's abbeys, he concludes one section of his poem with these lines on Michaelangelo:

> Himself from God he could not free;
> He builded better than he knew;—
> The conscious stone to beauty grew.

Here the stone is "conscious" in the etymological sense of "knowing together" or "sharing knowledge"; it shares at least equally with Michaelangelo the idea or "form" of the architectural beauty which the architect realized in St. Peter's. Out of himself alone Michaelangelo could not have created his masterpiece. "He builded better than he knew," for he almost passively "lent his hand" to the "vast soul" that was inherent both in him and in the stone. Thus the stone is "conscious" in another sense because of the indwelling in it of the Over-Soul.

Ewart's use of the phrase occurs in his contrast of the present dreary solitude of the ruins at Ephesus as seen by moonlight with the glory and richness of the sun-lit Temple of Diana that once stood there. The temple was destroyed once in antiquity by the fire set by fame-mad Erostratus, but it rose again more glorious and powerful than ever and seemingly secure from any second destruction, for it was made

proof against both earthquake and flood. Yet now its splendor has utterly disappeared; its sculptured columns are utterly defaced:

> Majestic monuments of lordly fame,
> Each the frail record of a regal name,
> Who now shall trace where Scopas' chisel taught
> The conscious stone to waken into thought;
> Or where, instinct with life, the tints grew warm
> Beneath Apelles' touch, and melted into form?[1]

In Ewart's lines the stone is not inherently "conscious" but "conscious" only after it has been "waken[ed] into thought"—i.e., given intelligible form—by the artist. The "thought" is that imposed on the stone by the sculptor and then drawn from the stone by the observer. Similarly, the tints of Apelles are not themselves "instinct with life" nor do they themselves really "grow warm" or "melt into form." Only through the art of the painter and in the eyes of the observer do they take on the appearance of life and warmth and self-creating form. Though it uses the same images[2] and the same phrase as Emerson's poem, Ewart's passage is a highly rhetorical and poetical mixture of prolepsis and pathetic fallacy which he means his reader to understand in only the most figurative sense. As such it throws light by its sharp contrast on the equally abstruse but highly philosophical and deeply meant use of the same phrase in "The Problem." Emerson uses what at first glance looks like Ewart's high-flown poetic diction. But there is a difference: Emerson means every word of it literally. What was poetics has become faith.

—Wheaton College (Massachusetts)

1 [William Ewart], The Temple of Diana at Ephesus; A Prize Poem Recited at the Theatre, Oxford, the Fourteenth of June, 1820, [Oxford, 1820], p. 6. Though the poem was republished in most of the early collections of Oxford prize poems in English—for instance, in that of 1839—and though Emerson was in England in 1833, there is no proof that he ever read it.

2 The example of Phidias and Jove was almost certainly suggested by the passage from Plotinus (Ennead V, Bk. viii, Chaps. 1-2) translated into German by Goethe in a letter to Zelter and transcribed from Goethe by Emerson in 1837 into the Journals, IV, 221.

WILLIAM SLOANE KENNEDY STALKS CARLYLE

By GEORGE HENDRICK

When William Sloane Kennedy (1850-1929)—author of critical studies on Longfellow, Whittier, Burroughs, and Whitman—visited England in 1872, he watched Carlyle take a walk and made the following notes in his "Diary,"[1] which is now in the Rollins College Library:

Mon. June 3rd. A letter of De Witt Talmage's[2] in the 'N.Y. Independent' first awakened my admiration and interest in the personal character and peculiarities of Carlyle. From a London directory I had previously found that he lived at No. 5 Cheyne Row, Chelsea. Yesterday afternoon I directed my steps there toward Chelsea. There in a quiet, unpretentious street I saw the home of the great writer. In that study have been forged those thunderbolts that have startled the world. The house is an old three-story brick, one of a long row of buildings, and distinguished from them in part by having blue window-shutters. The front room, ground floor is his study—half-length white curtains hang inside to keep out the gaze of passers by. Caught a glimpse of plain book shelves.

Just as I was repassing the house for the 3rd time about 5 o'c in the evening (Sunday) Carlyle himself came out with cane and gloves for an evening walk. He is an old man now, but hale and full of fire and energy yet—his shoulders are round caused by study by sitting almost all his life.

His eccentricity or rather his disregard of ever changing fashion with regard to dress is well known. He was oddly dressed, but neatly—A broad-brimmed brown hat—An old, very ancient, long tailed-black coat with velvet collar and four buttons at the end of each sleeve—gray pantaloons—old white canvas or buckskin shoes—buckskin or cloth gloves, and a cane completed his attire. At a respectful distance and on the other side of the street I accompanied him in his walk. He walked quite fast, scraping his feet and bringing down his cane occasionally on the pavement. Once when he took off his hat I saw that massive head. The iron-grey hair. One can see looking at his face the fierce internal fires that have burned within him.

He walked on unmindful of passers by occasionally glancing up at one however. What a glance!

His eyes are deeply set covered with thick grey eyelashes, and have a hard almost fierce look. Detesting the shams of the world he has lived alone, until perhaps he has become somewhat of a misanthrope.

But I don't know much about him. I must read his biography & works.

Never did I see more strongly contrasted pure intellect and philosophy, and the fashionable monkeyism of society than in that walk. I absolutely detested the man-milliners and simpering women we passed. Oh! What a difference!

That grand old man walking straight on

unheeding the impudent stare (for almost everyone stopped & turned entirely around to look at him & laugh, even little boys made fun) unable to find pleasure in the hypocrisies & follies of society he was absolutely alone, alone because he could find no peer, no companion.

At the end of his walk, (Kensington Gardens) he turned looked at an old fashioned watch, evidently to see how soon he had walked the customary distance, and walked back by the same way.

Once the sun shone sideways on his face when he pulled his hat over to one side like a loafer, totally unconcerned as to how he appeared.

—University of Colorado.

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1 Pages in volume I of the "Diary" are unnumbered. Although Kennedy had in 1872 completed two years of college at Miami University in Ohio and was preparing to enter Yale, he consistently misspelled even common words; I have herein standardized his spelling. 2 See D N B, XVIII, 287-288.

A NOTE ON
THE MARK TWAIN—WHITELAW REID RELATIONSHIP

BY GEORGE MONTEIRO

The outline of Mark Twain's abortive biography of Whitelaw Reid is well known. After three weeks in which he "worked day and night making notes and collecting and classifying material" and with "collectors at work in England,"[1] Twain decided to abandon the project. A few jottings from one of his notebooks suffice to give some indication of the nature of Twain's account:

> When the naturalist finds a new kind of animal, he writes him up in the interest of science. No matter if it is an unpleasant animal. This is a new kind of animal, and in the cause of society must be written up. He is the polecat of our species.... He is purely and simply a Guiteau with the courage left out....
>
> Steel portraits of him as a sort of idiot, from infancy up—a dozen scattered through the book—all should resemble him.[2]

The details of Twain's sudden decision to drop his plan once and for all are also well known. After learning that the charge made by "a sensitive friend," that the New York Tribune had been engaged in an "almost daily"[3] campaign against him since Whitelaw Reid had returned in mid-November, 1881, from a six-month wedding tour in Europe and while Twain was in Canada to insure Canadian copyright for his novels, had proven upon investigation to be groundless, Twain saw that there was no longer any reason to lash out at Reid. Besides, in retrospect, he could look back upon the fact that the Tribune had printed William Dean Howells' long, enthusiastic review of The Prince and the Pauper on October 25, 1881, two months before the novel was officially published. To a cooler head this should have been recommendation enough at the outset that the sentiments of the paper were generally favorable. Perhaps. But there were circumstances surrounding the matter of the review that neither Twain nor Howells ever knew.

Since the book marked a drastic departure from the work which Twain's audience had come to expect from him, Howells generously "offered," in the words of one commentator, "to allay the unexpectedness of The Prince and the Pauper by unrolling a carpet of critical praise just ahead of its arrival."[4] He broached the question of doing this to the temporary editor of the Tribune, John Hay, a close friend to both Howells and Twain, who agreed to let Howells do the review. On September 11, 1881, Howells informed Twain: "I have written to Hay, and he has commissioned me to write a review of The P. and the P. for the Tribune. I'm now merely waiting for the sheets."[5] And the review, four and a half columns long—actually over twice the length of the normal Tribune review, appeared in due course, unsigned, as was the custom with reviews in the Tribune. There is evidence that it is the only review Howells ever did for the Tribune.[6]

Unknown to Howells and Twain, however, was the fact that Hay, in choosing to print the review, had had to exercise editorial prerogative by overruling Reid's objection to having Howells do any such review. On September 25, 1881, a full month before it appeared, Reid wrote to Hay from Vienna:

> As to Twain. It isn't good journalism to let a warm personal friend & in some matters literary partner, write a critical review of him in a paper wh. has good reason to think little of his delicacy & highly of his greed. So if you haven't printed it yet, I wld. think of this point before doing so. If you have, there's no harm done. But, as you remember we agreed, years ago, a new book by Twain is not (as he modestly suggested) a literary event of such importance that it makes much difference whether we have our dear friend Howells write the review, or whether indeed we have any review.[7]

Reid's attitude toward Twain and his work was evidently not as favorable at this time as has been generally supposed.[8] That this tension was not a temporary matter is clear from both the tone and substance of Reid's communication. However well it was hidden below the surface of their public relationship, this animosity had to be revealed in the interests of the paper to

Reid's surrogate editor. Undoubtedly Hay decided, wisely, against informing either man of Reid's position. To Twain such information might have brought the writing of Reid's biography to completion—beyond, at least, the one chapter he claimed to have written, only to suppress.

After the whole business had quieted down, Howells sighed, "So the paper was acquitted and the editor's life was spared. The wretch never, never knew how near he was to losing it, with incredible preliminaries of obloquy, and a subsequent devotion to lasting infamy."[9] What Howells never did know was that it may have been Hay's judgment which kept the latent tension between Reid and Twain from breaking out into the open at a crucial moment.

—Brown University.

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1 Mark Twain's Letters, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine, N.Y. and London, 1917, I, p. 414.
2 Quoted by Albert Bigelow Paine in Mark Twain, A Biography, N.Y. and London, 1912, II, p. 721.
3 Mark Twain's Letters, p. 414.
4 Kenneth R. Andrews, Nook Farm, Mark Twain's Hartford Circle, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 158.
5 Life and Letters of William Dean Howells, ed. Mildred Howells, Garden City, 1928, I, pp. 300-301.
6 At least no other is listed in Howells' bibliographers, William M. Gibson and George Arms, A Bibliography of William Dean Howells, N.Y., 1948.
7 Manuscript letter in the John Hay Library, Brown University. I wish to thank Dr. David A. Jonah, Librarian of Brown University, for making the John Hay papers available to me.
8 Compare, for instance, Paine, "It should be said that Mark Twain and Whitelaw Reid were generally very good friends:" Mark Twain's Letters, p. 413. See Royal Cortissoz: "Mark Twain, a not infrequent contributor [to the Tribune], and a warm friend of Reid's...." in The Life of Whitelaw Reid, N.Y., 1921, I, p. 157.
9 Quoted by Paine, Mark Twain, A Biography, pp. 721-722.

EMERSON'S "SEASHORE" AND BRYANT: POETIC THEORY IN PRACTICE

BY ROBERT H. WOODWARD.

Gay Wilson Allen concludes his discussion in American Prosody of Emerson's poem "Seashore" by stating that the meter of the poem poses "an interesting psychological question." Why did Emerson write the poem in blank verse, he asks, and why are the opening lines "unusually regular blank verse for Emerson"? Allen sees the effective blank verse opening of the poem as an "illustration of Emerson's poetic theory in practice."[1] This poetic theory emphasizes the mystical nature of poetry, which comes into being as the result of inspiration; and the images and language of the poem, as well as the meter, are "suggested to the poet by his subject and the mystical forces playing upon him during his period of 'inspiration.'"[2] Specifically, Allen's concluding query can be reworded thus: Why does the sea speak in blank verse, and how is blank verse related to the mystical forces playing upon Emerson during his inspiration? The answer to this query need not be so conjectural as one might imagine. I hope to show that Emerson's memory of the poetry of William Cullen Bryant was stimulated by the situation which inspired the poem and that Bryant's ideas and language, even images, are basic to the first half of "Seashore."

The poem grew out of a journal entry made at the time of inspiration. Emerson had spent some days at Pigeon Cove, on Cape Ann. The day he left he had written down "what the sea had said" and was surprised to find the next day that the entry read almost like blank verse.[3] This entry, for July 23, 1856, provides the ideas and much of the language for the first twenty-six lines of the poem, that is, the first half:

> Returned from Pigeon Cove, where we have made acquaintance with the sea, for seven days. 'T is a noble friendly power, and seemed to say to me, "Why so late and slow to come to me? Am I not here always thy proper summer home? Is not my voice thy needful music: my breath, thy healthful climate in the heats; my touch, thy cure? Was ever building like my terraces? was ever couch so magnificent as mine? Lie down on my warm ledges and learn that a very little hut is all you need. I have made thy architecture superfluous, and it is paltry beside mine. Here are twenty Romes and Ninevahs and Karnacs in ruins together, obelisk and pyramid and giant's causeway,—here they all are prostrate or half piled."
>
> And behold the sea, the opaline, plentiful and strong, yet beautiful as the rose or the rainbow, full of food, nourisher of men, purger of the world, creating a sweet climate, and, in its unchangeable ebb and flow, and in its beauty at a few furlongs, giving a hint of that which changes not, and is perfect.[4]

The journal entry personifies the sea and gives it noble language for its message that it is the place for man's retreat, that it offers consolation, that its natural features dwarf what man can create. The beauty of the sea, strong, steady, and tranquil, and a certain weariness in Emerson which made him receptive to its message, apparently combined to recall the language and thought of Bryant's poems. Eight years later he wrote:

> Bryant has learned where to hang his titles, namely, by tying his mind to autumn woods, winter mornings, rain, brooks, mountains, evening winds, and wood-birds. Who speaks of these is forced to

remember Bryant.... I think of the young poets that they have seen pictures of mountains, and seashores, but in his that he has seen mountains and has the staff in his hand.[5]

And in the same year he also spoke of Bryant's "sincere, balanced mind" as having "the enthusiasm which perception of Nature inspires,"[6] and noted that "there is scarcely a feature of day and night in the country which does not—whether we will or not—recall the name of Bryant."[7] It seems clear that Emerson, contemplating the seashore, thought of Bryant, whether he willed to or not.

Emerson's conception of the poem—personified Sea speaking to man—parallels one of Bryant's techniques, seen best in "Thanatopsis" and "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood," in both of which either Nature or some aspect of nature speaks directly to men. Emerson had, however, used this device in other poems, such as "Hamatreya," in which Earth speaks. Bryant's dominant verse form, too, is blank verse, noble dignified, the language exalted. Even Emerson's images owe in part to Bryant. His "Was ever couch magnificent as mine" (line 8) clearly echoes Bryant's "nor couldst thou wish / Couch more magnificent" in "Thanatopsis" (lines 32-33). Emerson's Sea, expressing an idea alien to Emerson's more usual concept that natural beauties and man-made monuments are equally fine,[8] boasts:

I make your sculptured architecture vain,
Vain beside mine. (Lines 11-12)

Bryant, in "A Forest Hymn" (lines 35-37), elevates the natural grandeur of the forest above the "fantastic carvings"—the "pomp or pride"—of "our vain race." The Sea boasts, too, that its touch is "thy antidote" (line 6). Many of Bryant's poems turn upon the idea of nature's healing power. In "Thanatopsis" (lines 6-7) she is "a mild / And healing sympathy"; in "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood" (lines 8-9) the breeze "shall waft a balm / To thy sick heart"; in "Green River" (lines 2, 51) the river offers refuge where man can "steal an hour from study and care" until "the eating cares of earth should depart"; and in "A Winter Piece" (lines 5-6, 3) Bryant "would wander forth / And seek the woods" when his spirit was chafed by "the ills of life." The antidotal power of nature is a basic concept in Bryant's poems. The Sea's invitation to man to "Lie on the warm rock-ledges" (line 9) recalls the reassuring voice of Nature in "Thanatopsis" (lines 33-34) that "Thou shalt lie down / With patriarchs of the infant world...."

The strong influence of Bryant on Emerson as a mystical force playing upon the poet during his period of inspiration is further attested by the remainder of the poem, which from line 27 to line 49 stresses aspects of the sea other than its beauty, strength, and tranquillity, notably its forcefulness (rather than its strength), its wealth, its ability to lead men to new continents, and its illusory magical quality. These ideas are extensions of the journal entry; they go beyond the ideas mystically related at the seashore itself. And the quality of the blank verse in which these ideas are expressed is generally more rugged, more like the typical Emersonian blank-verse line.

What these parallels and influences show, I believe, is not mere borrowing, mere indebtedness for language and images, but rather, as Allen has said, an example of Emerson's theory of poetry in practice. The subject of the poem and the forces at work upon the author—unconscious forces of memory, perhaps—did combine in "Seashore" to produce a poem the composition of which can be seen not only as an interesting psychological problem, but also as a comment upon the manner in which the poet draws upon his storehouse of images, language, and meters.

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1 Gay Wilson Allen, American Prosody, N.Y., 1935, p. 102. 2 Ibid., p. 96.
3 See Edward Waldo Emerson's accounts in Emerson's Works, X, 484, and Journals, IX, 55-56, note. 4 Journals, IX, 54-55.
5 Ibid., X, 76-77. 6 Ibid., X, 80.
7 Ibid., X, 81-82.
8 E.g., see "The Problem" (lines 33-44).

A NOTE ON THE CORPUSANTS IN *MOBY-DICK*

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Chapter CXIX ("The Candles") in Moby-Dick (1851) will eventually deserve careful study for Melville's treatment of St. Elmo's Fire, which he apparently knew through personal experience and through several literary accounts, a few of which have been listed.[1] Overlooked is one of the most extensive treatments of the subject, published in the Penny Magazine, which many New Englanders (Emerson among them) regularly received into their homes.[2] Published six years before the appearance of Melville's great novel, it may have been known to him.[3] In any event, the public had a large awareness of the phenomenon.

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1 See Herman Melville, Moby-Dick, ed. Luther S. Mansfield and Howard P. Vincent, N.Y., 1952, 820f.
2 E.g., see The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau, ed. Harding and Bode, N.Y., 1958, p. 245.
3 The Penny Magazine, XIV, pp. 106-107 (March 22, 1845).

SAINT ELMO'S FIRE.

Among the many natural phenomena which have excited the superstitious awe of mankind in past ages, but which happily have met with their explanation among the generalizations of modern science, are those remarkable luminous appearances which in certain states of the air invest pointed bodies, such as the masts of ships, and are known to English sailors as Comazants; to the French and Spaniards under the more poetical name of St. Elmo's (or St. Helmo's) Fires; and to the Italians as the Fires of St. Peter and St. Nicholas. The Portuguese call them Corpo Santo; and in some parts of the Mediterranean they are named after St. Clair.

One of the most ancient notices of this phenomenon is recorded in the Commentaries of Cæsar, in his book 'De Bello Africano,' where it is spoken of as a very extraordinary appearance:—"In the month of February, about the second watch of the night, there suddenly arose a thick cloud followed by a shower of hail; and the same night the points of the spears belonging to the fifth legion seemed to take fire." Seneca also, in his 'Quæstiones Naturales,' states, that a star settled on the lance of Gylippus as he was sailing to Syracuse. Pliny, in his second book of Natural History, calls these appearances *stars*, and says that they settled not only upon the masts and other parts of ships, but also upon men's heads.—"Stars make their appearance both at land and sea. I have seen a light in that form on the spears of soldiers keeping watch by night upon the ramparts. They are seen also on the sail-yards, and other parts of ships, making an audible sound, and frequently changing their places. *Two* of these lights forebode good weather and a prosperous voyage, and extinguish *one* that appears single, and with a threatening aspect. This the sailors call *Helen*, but the two they call *Castor and Pollux*, and invoke them as gods. These lights do sometimes, about evening, rest on men's heads, and are a great and good omen. But these are among the awful mysteries of nature." Livy also (c. 32) relates that the spears of some soldiers in Sicily, and a walking-stick which a horseman in Sardinia held in his hand, seemed to be on fire. He states also, that the shores were luminous with frequent fires. Plutarch also records the fact, and Procopius affirms that, in the war against the Vandals, the gods favoured Belisarius with the same good omen.

There is no doubt that during many centuries these appearances continued to be regarded with mingled feelings of admiration and fear. In the record of the second voyage of Columbus ('Historia del Almirante,' written by his son) is a passage which well illustrates the superstitions of the fifteenth century:—"During the night of Saturday (October, 1493) the thunder and rain being very violent, Saint Elmo appeared on the topgallant-mast with seven lighted tapers; that is to say, we saw those fires which the sailors believe to proceed from the body of the saint. Immediately all on board began to sing litanies and thanksgivings, for the sailors hold it for certain that as soon as St. Elmo appears, the danger of the tempest is over. But, however this may be," &c. Herrera also notices that Magellan's sailors had the same superstitions.

Thus it appears that the auspicious view which the ancients took of this phenomenon continued also during the middle ages, modified, however, by the religious faith of the observers. As we approach our own times superstition gradually relinquishes its hold of this appearance; and more matter-of-fact observers, forgetful of the bodies of saints illuminated by wax-tapers, speak of it as it is, and even make it ridiculous by attributing to it a material character which it certainly does not possess. Forbin, sailing among the Balearic Islands in 1696, relates, that during the night a sudden darkness came on, accompanied by fearful lightning and thunder. All the sails were furled, and preparations were made for the storm. "We saw more than thirty Saint Elmo's fires. There was one playing upon the vane of the mainmast more than a foot and a half high. I sent a man up *to bring it down*. When he was aloft he cried out that it made a noise like wetted gunpowder in burning. I told him to take off the vane and come down; but scarcely had he removed it from its place than the fire quitted it and re-appeared at the end of the mast without any possibility of removing it. It remained for a long time, and gradually went out."

We come now to divest the phenomenon of all its romance in the plain statements of two intelligent observers. The first is Lieutenant Milne of the Royal Navy, who, in a communication to Professor Jameson, states that he was off the coast of Brazil in September, 1827; the day had been sultry, and heavily charged clouds had been collecting in the S.W. As evening approached it became very dark; the lightning was very vivid, and was followed by heavy peals of distant thunder. About ten o'clock a light was observed on the extremity of the vane-staff at the mast-head, and shortly afterwards another on the weather side of the fore-topsail-yard. One of the midshipmen, curious to examine this appearance a little more closely, went aloft. He found that it appeared to proceed from an iron bolt in the yard-arm; its size was rather larger than that of a walnut, and it had a faint yellow cast in the centre, approaching to blue on the external edge. On applying his hand to it, it made a noise like the burning of a port-fire, emitting at the same time a dense smoke without any sensible smell. On taking away his hand it resumed its former appearance, but when he applied the sleeve of his wet jacket, it ran up it, and immediately became extinguished, and did not appear again. The light on the vane-staff retained its position for upwards of an hour, but on account of the heavy rain, and probably also from having been struck by the vane attached to the staff, it went out, but resumed its position after the rain had ceased, although with a less degree of brightness.

In the above account the only circumstance which we do not understand is the dense smoke said to have been emitted by the light. This may perhaps be attributed to the imagination of the observer who witnessed the phenomenon for the first time. Other accounts are given by Lieutenant Milne, but these we need not repeat. He says that the fire usually appeared on metal, such as iron bolts and copper spindles; but, on one occasion, he noticed it on a spindle of hard wood from which the copper had been removed. He states that bad weather always followed the phenomenon.

In a letter from Mr. William Traill of Kirkwall, to Professor Traill, dated 16th of May, 1837, and published in the scientific journals of the time, is an interesting notice of St. Elmo's fire in Orkney. During a tremendous gale in February, 1837, a large boat was sunk, but the crew succeeded in getting her up again and dragging her to the shore. This was accomplished by night, and they had to wait until three o'clock on the following morning until the tide should ebb from her. During this time she was attached to the shore by an iron chain about thirty fathoms long, which did not touch the water; when suddenly Mr. Traill beheld "a sheet of blood-red flame extending along the shore, for about thirty fathoms broad and one hundred fathoms long, commencing at the chain and stretching along in the direction of the shore, which was E.S.E., the wind being N.N.W. at the time. The flame remained about ten seconds, and occurred four times in about two minutes." The boatmen, about thirty in number, who were sheltering themselves from

the weather, were apparently alarmed and about to make inquiries when attention was suddenly attracted by a most splendid appearance at the boat. "The whole mast was illuminated, and from the iron spike at the summit a flame of one foot long was pointed to the N.N.W., from which a thunder-cloud was rapidly coming. The cloud approached, which was accompanied by thunder and hail; the flame increased and followed the course of the cloud till it was immediately above, when it arrived at the length of nearly three feet, after which it rapidly diminished, still pointing to the cloud as it was borne rapidly on to S.S.E. The whole lasted about four minutes, and had a most splendid appearance."

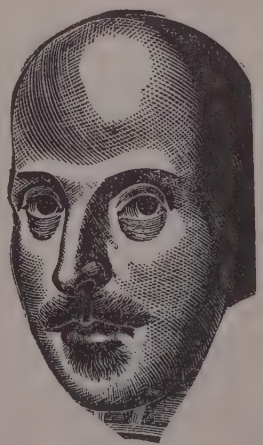
The popular opinion is that St. Elmo's fire now appears only on the points of ships' masts; but M. Arago confutes this opinion by adducing a variety of cases which seem to prove that the only reason why the phenomenon is not commonly seen on the tops of church spires, and on the summits of high buildings in general, is simply because people never look out for it; but a few recorded instances are sufficient to prove that good observers only are wanting to make the phenomenon much more common.

M. Binoh, who was curé of Plauzet during twenty-seven years, informed Mr. Watson, the electrician, that during great storms accompanied with black clouds and frequent lightnings, the three pointed extremities of the cross of the steeple of that place appeared surrounded with a body of flame, and that when this phenomenon has been seen the storm was no longer to be dreaded, and calm weather returned soon after. In August, 1768, Lichtenberg noticed the Saint Elmo's fire on the steeple of St. Jacques at Gottingen. In January, 1778, during a violent storm accompanied by rain and hail, M. Mongez noticed luminous tufts on many of the most elevated summits of the city of Rouen.

The observation of Cæsar respecting the luminous points of his soldiers' spears has been repeated in modern times; and still more remarkable cases have occurred. In January, 1822, during a heavy fall of snow, M. de Thielaw, while on the road to Freyberg, noticed that the extremities of the branches of all the trees by the road side were luminous, the light appearing of a faint bluish tinge. In January, 1824, after a storm, M. Maxadorf noticed in a field near Cothen, a cart-load of straw, situated immediately under a large black cloud; the extremities of the straw appeared to be on fire, and the carter's whip was also luminous. This phenomenon lasted about ten minutes, and disappeared as the black cloud was blown away by the wind. Rozet, in his work on Algiers, relates, that on the 8th of May, 1831, after sunset, some artillery officers were walking, during a storm, on the terrace of the fort Babazoun at Algiers. Their heads being uncovered, they saw, to their great astonishment, that each one's hair stood on end, and that each hair was terminated by a minute luminous tuft; on raising their hands these tufts formed also at the extremities of their fingers.

All these and various other phases under which the Saint Elmo's fire appears, admit of explanation on the principle which regulates a thunder-storm. The electrical balance between the clouds, a portion of the earth's surface directly opposed to these clouds, and the intermediate air, being disturbed, the particles of air, by a process called induction, increase this disturbance, throwing the clouds and the earth into two highly excited opposite states, which tend more and more to combine, according to the length of the process, until at last a union is effected by what Dr. Faraday calls a disruptive discharge, which is usually accompanied by lightning and thunder.

If it were possible to connect the clouds and the earth by a good metallic conductor, the electrical balance would be restored, and no such violent discharge would ensue. But it sometimes happens that when the air is in a highly excited state, a point projecting into it will effect a partial discharge. This is accompanied by a luminous burst of light and a sort of roaring noise. The experiment can be shown at the electrical machine, and is known as the brush discharge. It usually takes place between a good and a bad conductor; it commences at the root of the brush, and is complete at the point of the rod, before the more distant particles of air acquire the same electrical intensity. Hence, in the foregoing examples, it will be seen that the points of ships' masts, the extremities of church steeples, and even less elevated objects, are all subject to a visitation from Saint Elmo's fire; or, in other words, when placed in highly excited air, an electrical discharge may take place upon them, of so slow a character as to be entirely free from danger. It is the immense velocity with which lightning travels, which causes it to commit such fearful havoc when it strikes badly conducting substances.



Goode friend for Iesus sake forbeare
To lifte the bookes enstalled here
Blest be the man who reades a tome
But curst be he that takes one home

HAWTHORNE AND BLACKWOOD'S REVIEW OF GOETHE'S FAUST

By J. LASLEY DAMERON

William B. Stein, in Hawthorne's Faust,[1] critically examines the evidences of the Faust legend in much of Hawthorne's fiction. The influence of Goethe upon the shaping of Hawthorne's myth was, according to Stein, "concrete."[2] Whether or not Hawthorne actually read Goethe's Faust is a problem Stein does not attempt to solve, although he does point out that the artist and his New England contemporaries had good opportunity to read two completed translations of Part One—A. Hayward's prose version, published in 1833, and J. Anster's poetic paraphrase, in 1835.[3] In his discussion of what he considers to be possible parallels between Hawthorne's novel Fanshawe and Goethe's poem, Stein comments: "At the time Hawthorne was writing the romance, there seems little reason to believe that he had come under the influence of the ideas of the drama."[4] The purpose of this note is to present evidence that the novelist, previous to the publication of Fanshawe in 1828, had opportunity to assimilate the over-all content of Part One of Faust as reviewed in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

Records of the Salem Athenaeum indicate that Mary Manning, Hawthorne's aunt, was charged on June 25, 1827, with volume VII (1820) of that periodical,[5] in which appeared a twenty-three-page review of Goethe's drama.[6] During 1827, Hawthorne and his mother and sisters were living in Salem with the Mannings; and in view of the fact that he was at that time beginning to read extensively,[7] he may have read the review, which primarily contains numerous translations from and critical commentaries upon, Goethe's masterpiece. Among others, Faust's plaintive soliloquies, his conversations with Wagner, his suicidal attempt, his compact with Mephistopheles, his visit to the "witch's kitchen," his seduction of Margaret—all these elements are treated in the order presented in the poem. Thus Hawthorne had opportunity to acquaint himself with the whole of Part One—not only before the year 1833, when the completed translation was available to him, but also before 1828, when Fanshawe was published, and when he had already composed some of his earliest sketches.

1 William Bysshe Stein, Hawthorne's Faust: A Study of the Devil Archetype, Gainsville, 1953.
2 Ibid., p. 11 3 Ibid., p. 23.
4 Ibid., p. 53. Stein finds no proof that Hawthorne had read Gower's 1823 translation of Faust. (See p. 160, note 7). Hawthorne did not read German fluently and coult not have read Faust in its original language. See Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography, New Haven, 1948, p. 58.
5 See M. L. Kesselring, "Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-1850," Bull. of the New York Pub. Library, Feb.-April, 1949, p. 68.
6 "The Faustus of Goethe," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, VII (June, 1820), 235-258. According to Gilbert Macbeth, the review was composed by John Gibson Lockhart, and John Anster supplied the translated passages. See Macbeth's John Gibson Lockhart: A Critical Study, Urbana, 1935 [Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Nos. 3-4], p. 153. Stein offers no evidence that Hawthorne might have read this review. Interestingly enough records of the Salem Athenaeum indicate that Mary Manning, on the same day (June 25) took out volume XIV of Blackwood's, containing brief selections from Gower's translation of Faust (pp. 35-39). See Kesselring, loc. cit., p. 68.
7 Stewart, op. cit., pp. 27-44.

LITERARY COMMENTS IN THE LETTERS OF HENRY S. SALT TO W. S. KENNEDY

By GEORGE HENDRICK

Henry S. Salt, the English critic whose 1890 biography of Thoreau is still of value, remembered that he had first met the American critic, William Sloane Kennedy, at Millthorpe, Edward Carpenter's home. "Our friendship," Salt wrote in Company I Have Kept, "was maintained without break till his death last year, not many weeks after that of Carpenter himself. 'Edward's farewell handshake,' thus Kennedy wrote to me of July 30 1929, 'so lingering and kindly, touched me. I thought it was the last, and that he felt it.' Five days after the date of the letter from which I quote, Kennedy was drowned while bathing in the sea at West Yarmouth, Massachusetts. I miss him greatly; indeed these losses of friends are the worst afflictions of old age."[1]

The first letter by Salt reproduced here was written in 1889, but the correspondence between 1889 and 1920 is missing, as are Kennedy's replies. The missing items would be of great value, for the years 1889-1920 were a time of tremendous literary activity for both Salt and Kennedy. Stephen Winsten, Salt's biographer, lists the publication of 28 books by him during that period (some, however, were reprints of pamphlets), and Kennedy wrote two books on Whitman and numerous essays. (The Fight of A Book for the World was not published until 1926). Salt in his letters comments on his own works, on contemporary English writers, and on two of his favorite American American writers—Thoreau and Melville.

I. 38 Gloucester Road
Regents Park London
Aug. 30, 1889

My friend Edward Carpenter, whom I believe you know, tells me that he thinks you might possibly be able to give me some help towards a biography of Thoreau—I am working at a volume in which I wish to combine a clear and comprehensive account of Thoreau's life with a fuller and more serious estimate of his doctrines than those given in the existing memoirs—Mr. Harrison Blake has kindly promised to give me what assistance he can, and so have some other friends and students of Thoreau. ¶ If you should chance to know of any out-lying sources of information, or unpublished letters, I should be very much obliged to you if you would tell me of them. Apologising for thus troubling you, I remain....[2]

II. 19 Highdown Road, Brighton
. . . Oct. 2, 1920

You spoke of Hudson's books.[3] He is often at Worthing, about ten miles from here, (as perhaps I mentioned when I last wrote), and a short time ago he called here one afternoon to see me. Unfortunately he had not let me know he was coming, and I had gone on the Downs. That was the least fortunate of my expeditions. I am hardly likely to see him now, for he spends the winter in Cornwall, as his health is not good. ¶ I have been rather busy lately with the proofs of my book, a volume of reminiscences or what-not (hardly an "autobiography," as I am only the peg on which to hang the reminiscences of men and movements). It is to be published by George Allen & Unwin, either late in the present year or early in 1921. It has the pleasant title, as perhaps I told you, of "Seventy Years among Savages," and is "just a friendly account of friendly savages, by one of them." Its moral, of course, is humanitarian—that the present age cannot be called a civilised one—and this is illustrated by anecdotes of Eton, Cambridge, literary life, &c. The publishers hope that the anecdotal part will "float" the ethical (!), but I doubt it.... ¶ I have heard little of Carpenter lately. He came, unexpectedly, to see me off, when I was starting from a London Station for [?], as he happened to be then in London, & had heard from a friend the hour of my departure. That is all I have seen of him since last winter. I hear a report that he is going to the South of France, next winter, with his brother the Captain.

III. 19 Highdown Road, Brighton—
February 15, 1921

I will not delay to send a line to thank you, and Mrs. Kennedy, for your kind letters about those Savages. I value your opinion; especially what you say about the chapter on Death and Love. Will you tell Mrs. Kennedy that Eton boys <u>are</u> (as she was informed) very well-bred, and if they pour slops on the heads of passers-by in the street, they do it in the handsomest manner. The book has had an extraordinarily "good press" in this country, commencing with the <u>Times</u> (enclosed) on the day of publication, and all the other papers, or some fifty of them, including <u>Punch</u>, following on similar lines. I am the "Faddist", of course; but they take kindly to the role of savages. A few reviews have been reasoned and serious; most of them evade the moral, and go for the anecdotes. ¶ So you saw and heard "G. K. C."![4] He is a very clever fellow, so whimsical in his wit; not a clear thinker, or a trustworthy guide, but unsurpassed in certain forms of humour. I am sorry he was out of England just at the time my book appeared, as I think it might have drawn something good from him. ¶ You mention Herman Melville. It is strange that no biography of him has appeared. <u>Twice</u> have I had letters from countrymen of yours (the first was Arthur Stedman, son of the well-known writer, I forget who the second was),[5] announcing that they were engaged on such a work; but neither one nor the other stuck to it. I sent over all the material I had, for the use of one of them, and never got it back. Mrs. Melville was then living in New York, I believe, with a daughter; but now I have not heard of them for many years and don't know if they are still alive. ¶ No, I think the "Whale" is his chief work, in spite of its many faults, transcendentalism, &c. I introduced it to William Morris's notice, and he truly enjoyed it. So did Robert Buchanan, & others; but somehow Melville does not "catch on", even in "Typee" which is of course the most artistic of his books. I wrote an Introduction years ago for John Murrey's Ed. of "Typee" and "Omoo".[6] ... I hope you will get out your Whitman handbook....

IV. 19 Highdown Road, Brighton
April 20, 1922

I got a copy of Melville's Life and was interested to read it, as I have such a great admiration for M., but I cannot say I think the book is well done. I have seen hardly any reviews of it in England. I wrote a short article on M. for the Literary Guide, a rationalist monthly journal, but it has not yet been published; may appear in May or June number, as it is in type. ¶ I have been busy of late, as I have three books in the press. One is a new edition of "Animals' Rights",[7] printed as a sort of substitute for that testimonial which I declined to accept, and timed to [coincide] with the centenary celebration of "Martin's Act", the first legislation for the prevention of cruelty to animals. The second is a new book about wild flowers,[8] a copy of which I shall send for your acceptance when it appears, probably in late May or June; and the third is a revised edition of a little book about Cambrian and Cumbrian Hills, first published in 1908.[9] ... ¶ We have had a very quiet winter here. Had a visit from Edward Carpenter, who has now left Millthorpe and gone to live at Guildford, on ten North Downs in Surrey. He and Merrill found the winters in Derbyshire too trying; so he has let his world-famed cottage and bought a mansion at Guildford. ¶ Well, how is <u>John Burroughs</u>? I hope you have found a publisher. ¶ I had a letter yesterday from an unknown correspondent in Cloverdale, Cal., named Starcliff, telling me that my "Seventy Years among Savages" "made a better impression" on his mind

than any book he has read", except Thoreau's Walden and the New Testament"!! I am in good company anyhow! Why do your countrymen write such tall letters? ...

V. 19 Highdown Rd. Brighton
April 23, '23.

Yours of April 1st to hand. I was glad to see what you say of "Moby Dick"; it is a marvelous book. There seems to be a revival of interest here in Melville, at least among the better informed. I could wish that Weaver had woven his materials more skillfully in the Life; the book seems to me at fault, in its attempts at Epigram and cleverness on the biographer's part, while there is no real or vivid presentment of Melville himself. ¶ Like you, I have to skip freely in reading "Moby Dick". Melville suffered severly from the epidemic of Transcendentalism. But when one knows where to read, and where to skip, all is well.... ¶ In a few weeks, I hope to send you a copy of a little book which I wrote last winter, "The Story of my Cousins", biographies of a few animal friends....[10]

VI. 19 Highdown Rd. Brighton
November 15, 1923

. . .

Now I am trying to settle down again to winter work—not an easy thing to do after so much out-of-doors during the past six months—but I must have some congenial occupation to carry me through the dark months. The AEneid[11] of Virgil is ever with me, calling for revision of the translation which I made some years ago. Also I have an idea of writing some more reminiscences of a light sort, a Study of "Queer Fish", perhaps; for I have known some queer ones! ....

VII. 19 Highdown Rd. Brighton
Apr. 15, 1924

The "Burroughs" has arrived, and I send a few lines (as postscript to my letter of Apr. 8th) to thank you for so welcome a gift, and for your kind references to myself. The book is excellently done—genuine, sincere, and shrewd in its judgments right through; pure Kennedy, in fact! A great contrast to 9 out of 10 of the biographies of the day, such as Weaver's "Melville", where one suspects that the author is posing for the public eye. You are greatly to be congratulated; and I trust the literary press will recognize a good thing when they see it. We shall have much to talk about, when I see you here in the summer. ¶ I think your view of Burroughs is the true one. Personally I never liked his treatment of Thoreau, whom he did not really understand and consequently belittled. But Thoreau was too great for his times, and his reputation will gradually work itself clear of all those misapprehensions. ¶ I should say that Burroughs had the genius of the artist, the craftsman in words, but not of the seer; he had the vision, but not the impassioned vision, which is the highest. He reminds me of William Morris in that respect, and also, strange to say, in his portraits. ¶ I shall have to ask you about John Muir when we meet. I had his "Mountains of California" given me about 10 years ago, and think it a really great work; too rugged, no doubt, and lacking in symmetry, but containing passages, and whole chapters, that only a man of genius could have written. Then his portrait in your book (p. 57)—how truly beautiful! I don't know whether he is living still, but it makes me almost wish to go on pilgrimage to him. I had a letter from him once. ...

VIII. 19 Highdown Rd. Brighton
Feb. 19, '27

I owe you thanks for your letters and cuttings; also not least, for the copy of "An Autolycus Pack", which I am reading with interest in the evenings. It is very good, I think; and you have that rather rare quality, the gift of the Essayist; the light touch, together with the plentiful knowledge behind it. How busy your pen has been of late! You are to be congratulated. ¶ I was sorry to hear what you said about Bazalgette. I never met him personally, but from his writings had got a pleasant impression of him. It has so happened that he touched on some of the subjects with which I too have been concerned. ¶ The cutting from "Unity" has just arrived; and I am going to the Library to try to get the address of that paper. I have never seen it; but it seems to be of the sort that I ought to know. A cutting from it was sent to me a few months ago containing part of Gandhi's autobiography, from which it appeared that a book of mine had had the honour of helping him to adopt the humane diet years ago. The Saint! And I, but a sinner![12]... ¶ I have heard nothing about a book on Whitman's friends by E. C. I hope it is not so. The homosexual figures too largely in C.'s writings.[13]...

IX. 19 Highdown Rd. Brighton
. . . Feb. 10, 1927

I hear from E. C. now and then, but have not seen him for a couple of years or so. I may manage to get to Guildford next summer, to pay him a day's visit. He has just edited a new book, as you will see from enclosed notice.[14]

X. 19 Highdown Road Brighton
March 30, 1927

... On Friday last I married Catherine Mandeville, my housekeeper, and have thus feathered my nest for old age, by securing a most affectionate and devoted companionship. ¶ Seventy-five married to thirty-five sounds strange; but when you see you'll understand how wise I've been and congratulate me. The loneliness of the last decade has been intolerable.

XI. 15, Sandgate Road Brighton
. . . March 10, '28.

I don't know whether you have heard of the trouble that has befallen Edward Carpenter, in the death of his friend George Merrill. (Possibly I told you in a previous letter, but I think not).

From what I hear, I am afraid the blow has broken him down sadly; it was so unexpected and sudden. Friends who have seen him tell me that he seemed quite unable to bear it, and that all his philosophical fortitude had failed him. This, I think, must be due to the fact that, not to mention his age, he was already in a very weak state of health. ¶ So you have been reading Herman Melville's great book! It always impressed me strongly. Some thirty years ago I had a great desire to write a study of him; but circumstances were against me, and I never got beyond an article which John Murray used as a preface to his edition of "Typee" and "Omoo". ¶ I have been very busy of late revising my verse translation of Virgil's AEneid. It is to be published by the Cambridge University Press; this spring, I suppose, but the proofs have not yet begun to reach me. This will be the fulfillment of a very old ambition of mine; for the beauty of Virgil's poem has been a joy to me ever since I was a boy at Eton, and I have for years been trying my hand at reproducing it in English in such small measure as may be possible....

XII. 15, Sandgate Road Brighton
. . . July 17, 1928

I am a great-stay-at-home now; and my only journey has been to Guildford, to see our friend Edward Carpenter, who is much aged and broken since George Merrill's death a few months ago. Fortunately he has a good friend and attendant with him, Ted Trigher, who had lived with him & G.M. for some years; but his weakness is very pitiable, and he looks the mere ghost of what you and I remember him at Millthorpe. It is only the wicked who prosper. I believe old Massingham goes on as you saw him; and his advertised hot and cold running water never dries up, as we do! ¶ I had a South African, a stranger, calling her on Sunday last; he had been touring your States, and talked, inter alia, of Thoreau. I seldom hear mention of Thoreau now; all good and great things having temporarily lapsed from the public mind since the war; but that he will come into his kingdom again who can doubt? Is there the same forgetfulness on your side of the ocean? ...

XIII. 15 Sandgate Road, Brighton
Dec. 25, 1928.

I need not tell you that I am much gratified to learn, from your letter of Dec. 12th, that you think so well of my Virgil translation. Virgil has meant a great deal to me; and now that the book is actually published, which I scarcely dared to hope ever to see, it is of course a great pleasure to me to find that it gives satisfaction to other lovers of the poet, like yourself, who appreciate him too well to be put off with any inferior stuff. ¶ There have not, as yet, been a great number of press-notices—, not more than half-a-dozen of any real importance—, but so far they have been on the whole very favourable, especially about the choice of metre, which they grossly acclaim as "the true formula". In several cases, too, they express the opinion that this is the best of the published versions. ¶ I could hardly expect more than this, without being as unreasonable as some poets are! And I don't consider myself a poet; so that I by no means resent such (just) criticisms as that my verse is "always poetical, never poetry". I hope that some real poet, instead of adopting a wrong medium, as Dryden did, will some day use the right one, and produce a translation that is itself a poem. For I look on the Englishing of Virgil as, so to speak, a social task, not a merely individual one; in the sense that any one who attempts it should be glad if his successors can make use of his efforts and build something better thereon. That is how I feel, any how, about my own version. ... ¶ None of the critics have quoted from Book VI, in which I think I have succeeded best, and which (in my opinion) Virgil surpasses even himself. Well, I keep your letter among my treasures. ¶ Catherine and I are getting through the winter somehow; and when this swinish festival of Christmas is over, I shall feel more hope for the new year. ¶ I regret to say that Ed. Carpenter is very broken, physically and mentally. They say his heart is strong and he may live for some time; but it is the sort of life which is hardly preferable to death. Luckily he has a most devoted friend to look after him, Ted Trigher. Is it not strange that the death of George Merrill should have had so fatal an effect on E. C.?[15]

XIV. 15, Sandgate Road Brighton
. . . April 9, 1929.

I am pretty busy in one way or another—my latest work is a new edition of my "Life of Thoreau". The Walter Scott firm is dead; and I should be free to reissue the book, if any publisher would care to venture. I have written to Houghton Mifflin,[16] first, to ask if the idea appeals at all to them; but probably they would think it beneath their dignity to take up an old English book. If they decline, I shall sound other firms, either in this country or in yours.... ¶ A Thoreau student, an enthusiast, Raymond Adams, Ph.D., writes to me from Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Do you know of him? He is quite up to date in the subject; as I am not.

XV. 21 Cleveland Road,
Brighton, Sussex, Eng.
September 3, 1929.

Dear Mrs. Crowell:

I have today received your letter, and I am greatly grieved to hear of the death of my old friend, W. Sloane Kennedy; more grieved than surprised, perhaps; for though the manner of his death was so strange, I had often thought of late that in his energy he did not sufficiently remember his age. I presume it was some sort of heart-failure that caused him to drown. ¶ I had heard nothing of it until your letter arrived; and I am grateful to you for writing. ¶ Following close on the death of Edward Carpenter, whom we had both known for many years, it is the more sad; in fact this frequent loss of old friends is the great trouble of age. I have lost several in this year alone. ¶ I think it must have been at Carpenter's house that I first met W.S.K.; and since that meeting, he had always come to see me when he was in England, I enjoyed his lively spirits; a quick temper, but one that

was always kindly in the long run. As to his mention of "a divine friend", I cannot think that he applied that term to me!! though it is pleasant to hear that he spoke of me to you. Was it not of Edward Carpenter, "the Sage of Millthorpe", that he used the expression? Anyhow I shall always cherish the memory of him, as one of my best friends. ¶ My wife, who had a great regard for Mr. Kennedy, joins me in thanking you for your letter.

—University of Colorado.

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1 Henry S. Salt, Company I Have Kept, London, 1930, p. 116. I am grateful to the Librarian of Rollins College for permission to edit the materials included in this study.
2 For a similar statement by Salt, see Anna and Walton Ricketson, eds., Daniel Ricketson and his Friends, Boston, 1902, pp. 249-250. Salt also wrote about Kennedy, "It was through our common love of Thoreau that I first became acquainted with Mr. W. Sloane Kennedy, of Belmont, Massachusetts, a true nature-lover with whom I have had much pleasant and friendly intercourse both personally and by letter." Salt, Seventy Years Among Savages, London, 1921, p. 115. I have in every case omitted formal opening and closing remarks. Kennedy did respond to Salt's request, and Salt in the "Prefatory Note" to The Life of Henry David Thoreau, London, 1890, acknowledged his debt to Kennedy. Kennedy's 1880 Penn Monthly article on Thoreau was listed in the bibliography. In the 1896 edition of the biography, mention of Salt was deleted.
3 For extended comments on W. H. Hudson, see Company I have Kept, pp. 117-129, and Seventy Years Among Savages, pp. 116-118.
4 Gilbert Keith Chesterton.
5 John Freeman, who wrote in the "Preface" to Herman Melville, N.Y., 1926, that Salt had "freely placed at my disposal the materials in his hands." (See page v.) In Company I Have Kept, Salt remembered sending his materials to Freeman, pp. 108-109.
6 For comments on Melville, see Company I Have Kept, pp. 108-110, and Seventy Years Among Savages, pp. 110, 112.
7 First published in 1892. Revised 1922.
8 The Call of the Wildflower, London, 1922.
9 First published by A. C. Fifield.
10 London, 1923.
11 Published in 1926.
12 See also Company I Have Kept, pp. 100-101.
13 Some Friends of Walt Whitman: A Study in Sex Psychology, London, 1924.
14 Clipping missing.
15 See Edward Carpenter, My Days and Dreams, N.Y., 1916, 159ff., for comments on Merrill.
16 Houghton Mifflin is unable to locate the Salt letter in its files.

TENNYSON TO EDWARD CAMPBELL TAINSH

in 1868

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Edward Campbell Tainsh (1854-1919) is significant in Tennyson scholarship because, within the poet's lifetime and the year following his death, he issued four editions of A Study of the Works of Alfred Tennyson, D. C. L., Poet Laureate, each of them an attempt to deal critically and appreciatively with its subject. The first (1868) was submitted to Tennyson for comments; the second (1869) was revised and corrected partly in accordance with Tennyson's reactions to the first. The third (1870) contained a supplementary chapter on "The Holy Grail, and Other Poems." The fourth (1893), completed and largely rewritten, appeared almost immediately after the poet's death. One wishes that Tennyson's large correspondence were happily organized, indexed, and published so that it might be possible to document his relationships with sympathetic critics and popularizers, for it might reveal interesting facets of his personality and provide, among other benefits, useful explication. The two letters to Tainsh written shortly after the publication of the first edition of the commentary—to be considered herein—were probably only the beginning of a correspondence covering many years.

Of Tainsh himself little is known on this side of the Atlantic. That he seems to deserve a place in one of the supplementary volumes of the D N B will be apparent when the scope of his published works is fully appreciated. As of 1960, however, he is recorded in none of the reference works known to cataloguers of the Library of Congress. (I was unable to enlist the help of the British Museum or the British universities.) Besides his popular commentary on Tennyson, in 1858 he published at Edinburgh a Prize Essay on the Best Means of Making the Schoolmaster's Function more Efficient than it has hitherto been in Preventing Misery and Crime. At New York, in 1860, his essay entitled "Education, A Preventive of Misery and Crime" appeared on pages 116-132 of Papers for the Teacher, edited by Henry Barnard. (A copy survives in the Boston Public Library.) At London, in 1867, he published Mr. Johnston's School: or, The New Master, an educational novel of 104 pages, reissued by E. P. Dutton in New York in 1870. (A copy of the former survives in the B.M.; of the latter, in the Rare Book Room of the L.C.). In London, 1867, appeared a three-volume novel entitled Saint Alice, Who, However, Was No Saint. The year following (London, 1868) he issued a two-volume novel, Crowned; two years later (London, 1870), a three-volume novel, One Maiden Only, which survives in this country at the University of Illinois. As late as 1922 (three years following his death) appeared The Christian Hypothesis, with a preface by the Rev. Francis G. Belton (London and New York—Longmans, Green and Company). Though I have given a cursory glance at

various indexes, I have found no listings from his pen in periodicals. At all events, one understands how a Christian educator might be interested in Tennyson and desire to make him known.

In his commentaries, he combines a deep admiration and a tendency to close reading and some fault-finding. Both together may account for the brusqueness or distance observable in Tennyson's responses. Tainsh's adoration is especially notable in his dedication, introduction, and concluding chapter:

A STUDY OF THE WORKS

OF

ALFRED TENNYSON, D.C.L.,

Poet Laureate.

BY

EDWARD CAMPBELL TAINSH.

LONDON:
CHAPMAN AND HALL. 193, PICCADILLY.
1868.

TO

ALFRED TENNYSON, ESQUIRE, D.C.L.,

Poet Laureate,

IN PROFOUND RESPECT FOR

THE GREATNESS OF HIS GENIUS,

THE PERFECTNESS OF HIS ART,

AND HIS FIDELITY TO THE HIGHEST DUTIES

OF THE POET,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

The study of a poet may be directed towards either the art forms, or the conceptions, embodied in his works; towards either the beauties of execution and detail by means of which he sets forth the truths and lessons he desires to exhibit, or towards those truths and lessons themselves. In Tennyson, either of these is a rich field. I have chosen but one. Upon the strictly art field I have but touched here and there. My main purpose, throughout, has been to bring out the central thought or lesson of each poem. (Page 11).

As the poet is not a philosopher, so also he is not a moralist. Didactic poetry is almost a contradiction in terms. The poet's appeal is rather to the moral sentiments than to the conscience direct. Rather by the exhibition, than by the prescription, of goodness, he aims to influence the character. He desires not that you should listen to a sermon, but that, through sympathy with them, you should catch the tone of his noble characters, or that, through healthy moral indignation, there should be awakened in you a keener repugnance to the faults of his baser characters. So, though no moralist, his ultimate aim is wholly moral, and though he never bids you what to do, the direct tendency of his work is always the ennobling of your practical life. (Page 13).

There is room for poetry that shall contain no soul of moral truth—which shall be but a body of beauty, but which yet shall not lie outside the region of the educational. All beauty, pure and simple, tends to refinement, and all refinement, pure and simple, to goodness; and so the poet, or, in general, the artist, who but sets forth forms of beauty, may yet be aiding the growth of the good. Even so much as this is not needed to justify his work; if he give but pure pleasure, his work is far from vain. But it must be rigidly demanded of the poet who aims to create a body of beauty alone, and who holds back from the attempt to breathe into the body a soul of goodness, that he put no other soul therein. All art must be at least negative in relation to the moral. He who sends out a coarse or a mean thought into the world at all, does ill service to his kind; but the poet who does this plays the part of the devil. For the poetic solvent of beauty is not less potent in aiding the permeation of the soul by evil than by good. (Pages 14-15).

In the musical combinations of his words, Tennyson is equalled, I think, among English poets, only by Spenser and Shelley, unless, indeed, Keats may be added. And over and above its music, there is a certain suggestive power about much of our poet's language altogether apart from its meaning, which is especially worthy of notice.... (Page 19).

I spoke of the vague pictorial power of Tennyson's language. A step on from this leads us to the observation of the keen flashing power of his words, due to their often presenting, instantaneously and vividly, just those qualities in the thought or the thing, pertinent to the situation in which that thought or thing presents itself. Epithets form the crucial test of the poet. Men's nouns and verbs agree much more than their adjectives and adverbs.... (Page 21).

Is it so, then, that a great man must necessarily appear other than great to those who are intimately familiar with his life and character? Not so, either. There is no need to fear the fullest intimacy with a truly great man; it is in half-intimacy that the danger lies,

for this is just enough to make manifest the foibles of his character, and yet not enough for that full knowledge of his deeper nature by which the heroic lines would again be made manifest. It is half intimacy that is so dangerous to reverence. If I be unable to revere a man whom I fully know, then it is either because he is not truly reverable after all, or because I have not in me the power of perceiving and revering true greatness. Therefore if there be some living man, poet or otherwise, who stands to me half in the ideal world, in reverence for whom I find happiness and elevation, I shall, if I be wise, avoid the acquaintance of that man, should such and no more be possible to me; but should his friendship, and familiar intercourse with him, be offered me, I shall accept it without fear. (Pages 231-232).

The foregoing paragraph might have made Tennyson wary about encouraging "intimacy." The following passages taken from the terminal chapter, "A Few Days with the Poet Laureate," may account for the terseness of his replies to Tainsh:

In my heart of hearts, I do not feel that I have put a false title to this paper. It is true that I did not see the Laureate with my bodily eyes. I did not wish to see him. I should like to have had him for a companion, if that might have been; but as that could not be, then no seeing him could have been equal to the companionship that I truly had. I can read In Memoriam—can distinctly see the man in it; but I am not sure that I could truly and fully read his face, without much time and effort. So I shall speak still of my "days with the Poet Laureate." (Page 237).

I have made a pilgrimage. I have come to the ground rendered for ever sacred by In Memoriam. The blazing day draws to its close, and on one spot of the Severn liquid heaven is poured through a door in the clouds upon the face of the waters.... The village of Clevedon lies on the banks of the Severn, nearly opposite the beautiful Wye. It nestles in a hollow on the top of a hill, near to heaven, well into the bosom of the earth.... I have the keys of the church; there is no one with me. I pass through the simple graveyard and enter. (Pages 238-239).

After a meditation in the church that covers the ashes of Arthur Hallam and, later, in the churchyard and beside the Wye River—a meditation in which he quotes liberally from Tennyson's poem, he concludes:

My days with the Poet Laureate are over. I have finished my pilgrimage, I have traversed all the sacred ground, and have harvested a store of memories that shall last me my life through. Henceforth, Alfred Tennyson and his dead friend Arthur Hallam are more real to me than ever they were before, and In Memoriam has grown more full than ever of meaning. In one mystic bundle are tied together for me the greatest poet of our time, the richest poem, the noblest friendship, and the most beautiful river of our country. These in harmonious memory shall live in my heart as long as my heart is worthy to hold them; and, all the time, the Wye shall pour its waters into the Severn, and the Severn shall roll down into the sea, and the moon shall shine upon the quiet church of Clevedon, and the tablet shall glimmer in the dim early mornings, and the love of men for our great poet and his greatest poem shall grow deeper, until they shall have learned once more that the true poet is the King of Men.
(Pages 255-256).

Tennyson acknowledged the receipt of the first edition of Tainsh's book with the following letter, important for its explication. It was penned by Emily Tennyson and only signed by the poet. I am grateful to the owner of the manuscript, Miss Arvila Longcor, of Proctorsville, Vermont, for permission to edit it here.

Farringford
Freshwater
Isle of Wight

March 24th 1868

My dear Sir

I have waited that I might have leisure to look at your book before writing to you. It is of course difficult to criticise a critique on oneself, but at all events it is not difficult but on the contrary very pleasant to express to a kindly critic the thanks which are so justly due to him.

There are naturally some points on which you are mistaken, & others in which we do not agree; for instance by 'Those wild eyes' is intended the Pacific Islanders——[']wild' having a sense of 'barbarism' in it. I should never have ventured to use so vague a periphrasis for 'Sailors.' ——Again 'bar of Michael Angelo' does not mean 'meeting eyebrows' but that broad bar of frontal bone over the eyes—for which he was remarkable.

There are several of these little errors & I lose no time today to explain them. Two words about Enoch Arden. A friend of mine told me that he heard his own parish bells in the midst of an eastern desert—not knowing at the time that it was Sunday. He accounted for it to me by stating that there was a ringing in his ears which his old association moulded unconsciously into the sound he heard[;] there is nothing really supernatural mechanically or otherwise in E. A's hearing bells, tho' the author most probably did intend the passage to tell upon the reader mystically[.]

2. The costly funeral is all poor Annie could do for him after he was gone—entirely introduced for her sake & in my opinion, quite necessary to

the perfection of the Poem.

I hate writing ever so little about my own compositions.

So pray believe me
Yours very truly

A. TENNYSON

Under 'A' palmtree is the printer's mistake—not mine.

[The following reproductions from pages 86-95 of the first edition will give Tainsh's complete discussion of "Enoch Arden" and include the passages with which Tennyson took exception.]

Enoch Arden is the latest and the longest of Tennyson's pure idylls, and it is one upon which his lovers have spent much thought, and concerning which they have asked and have had to answer many questions. To those who had watched his never faltering power up to the climax of that inspired utterance of Arthur over the prostrate queen, there seemed little reason for anxiety concerning his new gift, when *Enoch Arden* was announced. When the book, and, specially, the poem, *Enoch Arden*, came to be read, there appeared the curious phenomenon of those who loved him best feeling disappointment at his latest gift; while those who heretofore had loved him least, and had professed to understand him least, thought this his best poem. Who were right was the question, and is. Or, the question of rightness apart, how may the fact be accounted for?

To this latter question, the answer, I think, is easy. *Enoch Arden* is the least Tennysonian of Tennyson's poems, both in manner and in structure. The story is full of coincidences, which his stories never otherwise are. There is a sort of mechanical supernaturalism, such as is found in pagan art, instead of that spiritual supernaturalism which otherwise pervades his writings, and which seems the most deeply natural thing of all, God being postulated. This mechanical supernaturalism belongs to the highest pagan art, being proper in *it*, because of the quality of the pagan conceptions of divinity. But in modern times we look for this mechanical supernaturalism only, as a rule, in the works of such artists as are not themselves able to rise to the conception of

> "That God, which ever lives and loves,
> One God, one law, one element,
> And one far-off, divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves."

The kind of supernaturalism to which I refer under the name "mechanical" is such as in that instance when, on Annie's marriage-day, it is said of Enoch that

> "Though faintly, merrily, far and far away,
> He heard the pealing of his parish bells;"

or, again, when Annie, turning for a sign to her Bible, read (though she misread) the words, "under a palm-tree," and, sleeping afterwards, dreamed that she saw her husband

> "Sitting on a height,
> Under a palm-tree, over him the sun;"

or, once more, when in *Aylmer's Field*, the poet, as from his own mouth, says,

> "Star to star vibrates light: may soul to soul
> Strike through a finer element of her own?
> So, from afar, touch as at once? or why
> That night, that moment when she named his name
> Did the keen shriek, 'Yes love, yes Edith, yes,'
> Shrill, till the comrade of his chambers woke,
> And came upon him half-arisen from sleep,
> With a weird bright eye, sweating and trembling,
> His hair as it were crackling into flames,
> His body half flung forward in pursuit,
> And his long arms stretched as to grasp a flyer."

Now this kind of supernaturalism is something very different from that suggested in *In Memoriam* (and to be hereafter spoken of) in the words—

> "No visual shade of some one lost
> But he, the spirit himself may come
> *When all the nerve of sense is dumb*
> Spirit to Spirit, Ghost to Ghost;"

very different from the presentiments haunting *Maud*, and

the dream which helps the sad man to a complete recovery of moral health; very different from that teaching of an all-pervading Presence, permeating and shaping our lives, which makes our Laureate's writings so dear to us.

This element of mechanical supernaturalism tends to give to the thoughtful student the impression of unreality, and therefore of weakness, in the structure of the story; while, on the other hand, it pleases those whose standards of judgment have been formed by lower masters. Hence the anomalous antagonism of opinion out of comment upon which grew the foregoing remarks.

Whether there is any underlying justification for the introduction of this mechanical supernaturalism I do not know. Starting from our faith in our poet, it would seem likely that there is. But I do not see it; and, to my mind, the poem would have more beauty and interest and moral significance, were this element absent.

> And beating up through all the bitter world,
> Like fountains of sweet water in the sea,
> Kept him a living soul."

It has been much debated whether it was true art, first, not to let Enoch speak to his wife and children before he died, and, second, to make him, dying without seeing them, let them know that he had returned at all. To determine these points, it must be considered that the conception of Enoch is that of a man altogether noble. Any emotional satisfaction gained at the cost of making him less noble would have been false art, therefore. Now his appearance in the new family circle, whatever doubtful pleasure it might have afforded to him, would have caused utter consternation and pain to all others concerned. To Philip, it would have meant a ruined life; while Annie would have found herself severed from both ties at once, and shocked beyond recovery by the discovery of her false position. A low-toned or morbid artist would have made them meet—the situation has been produced more than once in recent novels to the entire offence of all readers of refinement and sensibility. The most that could be permitted to Enoch, consistent with his nobility and with true art-feeling, was that terrible satisfaction he obtained when

> "The dead man come to life beheld
> His wife, his wife no more, and saw the babe
> Hers, yet not his, upon the father's knee,
> And all the warmth, the peace, the happiness,
> And his own children, tall and beautiful,
> And him, that other, reigning in his place,
> Lord of his rights, and of his children's love."

Concerning the other point, it was some time before I could arrive at a conclusion for my own satisfaction, when first I read the poem. The answer comes out of the consideration that the conception of Annie is in no way that of an ideal character. She is a faithful, loving woman, as ordinary men and women go, but she is of the common, not of the highest type. This is seen all through the poem. Her long hesitation about marrying Philip is as much fear as fidelity. It was through her suggestion, half or wholly unconscious, it may be, that he first spoke of it to her.

> "I thought not of it: but—I know not why—
> Their voices make me feel so solitary,"

is the language, not of the desolation of faithful love, but of the longing for some new interest and sympathy. After she is married, an almost fear of Enoch's return seems to haunt her.

> "A footstep seemed to fall beside her path,
> She knew not whence; a whisper on her ear,
> She knew not what; nor loved she to be left
> Alone at home, nor ventured out alone.
> What ailed her then, that ere she entered, often
> Her hand dwelt lingeringly on the latch,
> Fearing to enter."

In this state of mind the certainty of Enoch's death would be a comfort to her, even though accompanied by the pain of knowing that he had been alive, when, before, she thought him dead. Therefore, that Enoch should leave word for her to be told is true art, upon the conception of the ideal type of Enoch's character, and the common type of the character of Annie.

The weakest portion of *Enoch Arden* is the three last lines. After the completeness of the ending in the words,

"There came so loud a calling of the sea
That all the houses in the haven rang.
He woke, he rose, he spread his arms abroad
Crying with a loud voice 'A sail! a sail!
I am saved!' and so fell back and spoke no more,"

those three extra lines chill one. To name him "strong, heroic soul" seems so entirely unnecessary, and what kind of funeral they gave him so unimportant and uninteresting.

In the commentary on "In Memoriam," Tennyson corrected the two notes marked on the following pages with arrows. (Pages 220 and 224).

Canto.	Verse.	Line.	
			offer upon these points; nevertheless, I like the line.
XXIV.	1	3, 4.	The spots on the sun.
	3	1, 2.	The allusion is, of course, to a well-known optical effect of mist.
	4	3, 4.	I cannot but think this rather far-fetched as a metaphor, seeing that it does not lie within the present experience of man to see, as a distant star or planet, a body he has once lived upon.
XXVI.	3	4.	I offer to the reader two paraphrases of this line:— (1.) "And that love only produces indifference to life." (2.) "If He see in present love, future indifference." I think the second is the more probable meaning. The doubt turns upon the force of "to be."
XXVII.	3	4.	This is rather obscure, whether want means *careo* or *desidero*.
XXXIII.	3	3, 4.	The general, not the special, sacramental thought.
XXXIV.	2	1.	It is thought that the Earth, viewed from without, would reflect a green colour.
XXXV.	2	4	I do not see how this is an argument against the continuance of love.
	3		
	4	2.	Death.
XXXVI.	1	1, 2.	Truths intuitive, or, at least, capable of being arrived at by the powers inherent in man.
	4	3, 4.	Periphrasis for a sailor.
XXXVII.	1	1	*Urania*, muse of Astronomy, has so a heavenly character, and may be represented as dealing with
	3	1	

Canto.	Verse.	Line.	
LXXV.	1	4.	I do not see the force of this.
	3	1, 2.	Compare Job xxxviii. 4-7 with Genesis i. 1-3.
	4	4.	"Hollow trunks."
LXXIX.	4	1.	Not quite clear.
LXXXII.	1	1.	The line is rendered clearer if "upon" be made "towards."
		2.	"New Year" = spring.
LXXXIV.			Addressed to some friend who had also been a friend of Arthur Hallam.
	9	1.	I do not see the force of "equal-poised control."
	27	1.	"Hold apart" = "alone hold."
LXXXV.			Remarkable as being one sustained sentence.
	1	4.	"Slowly breathing bare the round of space" =
	2	1.	"Clearing the whole sky-dome from clouds."
LXXXVI.	10	4.	The eyebrows of Michael Angelo met in the middle, and formed nearly a straight line above his eyes.
LXXXVII.	1	3, 4.	The reference is to the mixture of joy and grief thought to be noticeable in the song of the nightingale.
LXXXVIII.	12	3, 4.	"Crimson-circled star" = evening star setting in the crimson sunset. "Father" = sun.
	13	4.	"Honeyed hours" = bees, I suppose.
XC.	1	4.	A friend says that the *blue-bird* alone answers to the description, but that it is peculiar to North America.
XCVII.	2	3, 4.	Will-o'-the-wisp.
XCVII.	6	1.	"Mother town" = capital = *metro polis*.
CII.			See previous chapter.

Because he was already planning an improved edition, Tainsh wrote Tennyson a second time, hoping for a more complete criticism of his commentary, and asking for details about the Hallam family. The poet dodged such a chore by having his wife reply as follows. (This letter is also owned by Miss Arvilla Longcor, of Proctorsville, Vermont, whose kindness in permitting me to edit it is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Farringford
Freshwater
Isle of Wight
Nov^{r} 11th 1868

Dear Sir /

M^{r} Tennyson has this morning left home possibly for some time.

I write for him to say that it was Henry Fitz Maurice Hallam, Arthur Hallam's brother who died at Siena, Arthur Hallam died at Vienna.

It is true that Julia Hallam the wife of Colonel Lennard is still living. She is the youngest daughter. I fear it will not be possible for Mr. Tennyson to devote sufficient time to your book at present for the criticism you ask.

Believe me dear Sir

Truly yours

EMILY TENNYSON

Tainsh, in his second edition, was able, therefore, to avail himself only of what the poet had given him in the earlier letter. He continued to maintain most of his opinions on "Enoch Arden" except at the end, where he made a slight concession to Tennyson:

> To name him "strong, heroic soul" seems so entirely unnecessary, after the living presentment of his strength and heroism; and though the kind of funeral they gave him was important for Annie's sake, it yet has, to my mind, the effect of an anticlimax. (Pages 102-103).

In his commentary on "In Memoriam" he accepted Tennyson's corrections:

> Pacific Islanders; "wild" having the sense of barbarian. (Page 231).
>
> The broad bar of frontal bone for which Michael Angelo was so remarkable. (Page 256).

THE LONG-SLEEP-AND-CHANGED-WORLD MOTIF IN "RIP VAN WINKLE"

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Recent scholarship seems unanimous in assigning as source for Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" Büsching's Volks-Sagen, Märchen und Legenden, either in the German text of Leipzig, 1812, or in an English translation.[1] That the principal motif of the tale is a part of the widespread Indo-Germanic folklore seems not to have been noticed nor has its pertinence to the "Romantic Agony" been evaluated.[2] It manifests itself in Greek literature certainly as far back as Diogenes Laertius,[3] may possibly have flourished in the middle ages in the rich legendry concerning the "Seven Sleepers,"[4] and has a variant in modern Scandinavian folk tales.[5] I cannot here do more than propose an interesting research project and suggest that it be fully evaluated in the psychology of transcendental literature of the western world, for it has apparently been neglected in the first edition of the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature.[6] Basil Kennet's popular eighteenth-century reference work, which was much used by Emerson and his contemporaries, illustrates its use in the Greek biography of Epimenides:[7]

> They say, that being sent, when a Boy, by his Father to drive a Sheep into the Country, he got out of the Road to a Cave, where he lay down and slept 57, 50, or 40 Years, according to the different Accounts. Waking at last, he fancied he had taken but a short Nap, and began to look about for his Sheep; till, giving over that Search, he proceeded to his Father's Country-Estate, whither he was at first bound. But seeing the Face of Things strangely altered, and the Lands possessed by a new Master, he ran back in a Fright into the City. Here endeavouring to get into his Father's House, his younger Brother, now grown a grave old Gentleman, with much Scruple admitted him, and told him how long he had slept.
>
> Some Authors have discountenanced this Story of his long Dream; and make him to have wandered all that Time, in order to the improving his Natural Philosophy by the Experience of Simples. But perhaps, the Sleep might be only a Politick Fiction of his, to gain Authority to his Art. For we are told, he used commonly to put a much greater Fallacy on the People; pretending, as often as the Fit took him, to die, and revive again at his Pleasure.

Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian Arctic explorer, told J. M. Barrie[8] the story of a monk who had wandered on a spring day into the fields beyond the cloister:

> He heard a lark singing. He had never heard a lark sing before, and he stood there in the field until the bird and its song had become part of the heavens. Then he walked back to the monastery and found there a door-keeper whom he did not know and who did not recognize him. Other monks came along, and they were strangers to him. He told them he was Father Anselm, but that was no help. Finally, they looked through the records of the monastery, and these revealed there had been a Father Anselm there some hundred years before. Time had been blotted out while the monk listened to the lark sing!

This motif is to be distinguished from others, a few of which may be mentioned: (1) The enchanted sleep, broken when certain conditions have been fulfilled, as in the Grail legends or in such fairy tales as "Sleeping Beauty." (2) The popular

medieval dream-vision, much used by Langland and Chaucer, influenced by the Somnium Scipionis and delightfully illustrated in "The House of Fame" and in "The Book of the Duchess."[9] (3) Tales of a dream or hiatus in one's life caused by association with La Femme Fatale as in "La Belle Dame Sans Merci." Our motif, though it has something in common with the last-mentioned, seems to require a dreamless sleep or rapture, the passage of many decades or centuries, upon waking a changed world, and occasionally the presence of an animal. Rip had a dog, the Seven Sleepers had a dog, and Epimenides had a sheep. (One may, of course, recall the presence of dogs within dreams—notably Chaucer's little "whelp" who "Helde doun hys hed and joyned hys eres,"[10] but they are obviously irrelevant. The fact that our motif usually stresses a withdrawal from society and a none-too-happy return to it, as in the story of Rip or in Hawthorne's "Wakefield," may suggest its relevance to neurotic components of the Romantic Movement.

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1 See H. A. Pochmann, "Irving's German Sources in The Sketch Book," S P, XXVII, 477-507 (July, 1930); Elmer L. Brooks, "A Note on the Source of 'Rip Van Winkle'," A L, XXV (1953-1954), 495-496; John T. Krumpelmann, "Revealing the Source of Irving's 'Rip Van Winkle'," Monatshefte, XLVII (1955), 361-362, and Archiv, CXCIII (1956-1957), 38-40; Walter A. Reichart, "Concerning the Source of Irving's 'Rip Van Winkle'," Monatshefte, XLVIII (1956), 94-95; Walter A. Reichart, "Washington Irvings Quelle für seinen 'Rip Van Winkle'," Archiv, CXCIII (1956-1957), 291.

2 Not mentioned in Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony, tr. from the Italian by Angus Davidson, 2nd ed., London & N.Y., 1951.

3 Summarized in the first quotation given below.

4 See the rich summaries in E. Cobham Brewer, The Reader's Handbook, Rev. ed., London, [1934], 958-986.

5 See the story told by Fridtjof Nansen given below.

6 See Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, (1st ed., 6 vols.), Bloomington, Indiana, 1932-1936.

7 See Basil Kennet, The Lives and Characters of the Grecian Poets, (2nd ed., 2 vols. in 1), London, 1735, II, 39-40.

8 Clipped from the "Everyday Religion" column of The Living Church sometime during 1934, 1935 or 1936.

9 For a modern ironic use of this motif, see Stephen Leacock's story, "The Man in Asbestos," in his Nonsense Novels.

10 Chaucer's "The Book of the Duchess," lines 387-94.

SCHILLER'S "DIE IDEALE" AND THE ODES OF COLERIDGE AND WORDSWORTH

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

One of the principal motifs in Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" and in Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" is the loss of glory, wonder, and intuitive perception as one leaves one's childhood behind. This is, of course, a commonplace in English literature, certainly since Henry Vaughn wrote "The Retreat" in the seventeenth century. In this note, I desire to call attention to Coleridge's strong interest in Schiller's poetry—partly evidenced by his translating "Wallenstein" from the German at the turn of the nineteenth century—and the possibility that he (and Wordsworth too, for that matter) were well acquainted with Schiller's short poem, "Die Ideale"—a notable contemporary lyric of dejection.[1] I am interested in the parallels not because Schiller can be considered in any sense a "source" for Coleridge's "Dejection" but rather because his poem is a phenomenon for the student of comparative literature in the Romantic Period. It begins:[2]

So willst du treulos von mir scheiden
Mit deinen holden Phantasien,
Mit deinen Schmerzen, deinen Freuden,
Mit allen unerbittlich fliehn?
Kann nichts dich, Fliehende, verweilen,
O meines Lebens goldne Zeit?
Vergebens, deine Wellen eilen
Hinab ins Meer der Ewigkeit.

Erlöschen sind die heitern Sonnen,
Die meiner Jugend Pfad erhellt,
Die Ideale sind zerronnen,
Die einst das trunkne Herz geschwellt,
Er ist dahin, der süsse Glaube
An Wesen, die mein Traum gebar,
Der rauhen Wirklichkeit zum Raube,
Was einst so schön, so göttlich war.

That it was well known in Europe and much celebrated is attested by the attention paid to it in Madame de Staël's Germany, where it is compared to similar verses by Voltaire:[3]

It would be interesting to compare Schiller's stanzas on the loss of youth, entitled the Ideal, with those of Voltaire, beginning,

Si vous voulez que j'aime encore,
Rendez moi l'age des amours, &c.

We see in the French poet the expression of pleasing regret, which has for its object the pleasures of love and the joys of life: the German poet laments the loss of that enthusiasm and innocent purity of thought, peculiar to early age, and flatters himself that his decline of life will still be embellished by the charms of poetry and of reflection. The stanzas of Schiller do not possess that easy and brilliant clearness which is generally so striking and attractive; but we may draw from them consolations which intimately affect the soul. Schiller never presents to us a serious or profound reflection without investing it with noble images; he speaks to man, as nature herself would speak to him; for nature is also

contemplative and poetical. To paint the idea of time she brings before us an ever-flowing stream; and lest, through her eternal youth, we should forget our own transient existence, she adorns herself with flowers which quickly fade, and strips the trees in autumn of those leaves which spring beheld in all their beauty: poetry should be the terrestrial mirror of this divinity, and by colours, sounds, and rhythm, reflect all the beauties of the universe.

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1 For general background, see John D. Rea, "Coleridge's Intimations of Immortality from Proclus," M P, XXVI, no. 2 (Nov., 1928), pp. 201-213.
2 See Schillers Sämtliche Werke, (16 vols.), Stuttgart und Berlin, [?1904], I, 160-163.
3 See Germany; by the Baroness Staël-Holstein, tr. from the French, (3 vols.), London, 1813, I, 345-346.

POE'S "BELLS" AND SCHILLER'S "DAS LIED VON DER GLOCKE"

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Although source-hunters have produced a significant list of poems on bells written before and during Poe's creative period[1]—among them a translation of Schiller's "The Song of the Bell" in the Democratic Review of March, 1845, we are still uncertain of influences upon and circumstances attending the composition of his celebrated onomatopoetic masterpiece. That he had a "natural capacity for languages" and knew some German has been demonstrated.[2] A number of scholars, moreover, have mentioned the influence of Schiller's other works upon him.[3] Since the field is wide open, I should like to suggest that Poe got his hint for his poem not from the translation of Schiller's "Song" in 1845, nor yet from the original German (which he was able to read), but from the most popular work on German Romanticism, published in 1813, which almost every cultivated reader—in England, France, and America—in his day had read—Madame de Staël's Germany, which summarized Schiller's achievement in both theme and technique. Poe probably found the complete recipe for his tour de force in the following passage:[4]

> The poem [by Schiller] entitled the Bell consists of two distinct parts: the alternate stanzas express the labour which is performed at a forge, and between each of these are the charming verses, on the solemn circumstances and extraordinary events commonly announced by the ringing of bells, such as birth, marriage, death, fire, insurrection, &c. We may translate into French the fine and affecting images which Schiller derives from these great epochs of human life; but it is impossible properly to imitate the strophes in short verse, and composed of words whose rough and quick sound almost conveys to our ears the repeated blows, and rapid steps of the workmen who direct the boiling metal. Can a prose translation give any just idea of a poem of this sort? It is reading music instead of hearing it; and yet it is easier to conceive the effect of instruments which are known to us, than of the concords and contrasts of a rhythm and a language we are ignorant of. Sometimes the regular shortness of the metre gives us an idea of the activity of the workmen, the limited but regular force which they exert in their principal operations; and sometimes, immediately after this harsh and strong sound, we hear the aërial strains of enthusiasm and melancholy.
>
> The originality of this poem is lost, if we separate it from the effect of a versification skilfully chosen, where the rhymes answer each other like intelligent echoes modified by thought; and nevertheless, these picturesque effects of sound would be bold and hazardous in French....

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1 See Edgar Allan Poe: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes. Begun by Margaret Alterton; completed by Hardin Craig, N.Y. (American Writers Series), [1935], p. 506; also The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. Killis Campbell, Boston & N.Y., [1917], pp. 280-281.
2 See Gustav Gruener, "Poe's Knowledge of German," M P, II (1904-1905), pp. 125-140.
3 See Gruener, loc. cit., II, 133; John H. Ingram, Edgar Allan Poe: His Life, Letters, and Opinions, (2 vols.), London, 1880, I, p. 5; Arthur H. Quinn, Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography, N.Y. and London, 1941, p. 678.
4 Germany; by the Baroness Staël-Holstein, tr. from the French, (3 vols.), London, 1813, I, pp. 346-347.

A CLOSE READING OF EMERSON'S "DAYS" FROM A COLLEGE EXAMINATION

[Professor Morse S. Allen, of Trinity College in Hartford, sends us the following "howler" which he extracted from a college blue book turned in by one of his Freshmen. We think it worthy of a place in our columns and hope that our readers will enjoy a good laugh.]

EMERSON'S "DAYS"

Emerson has created a poem with eleven lines of iambic pentameter. Why eleven lines? You've got me. He thinks that a day is a poor substitute for time. He feels that time should go on regardless of what day or time of day it is. He feels that, as a representative of the human race, Time, or the Day, looks down upon him from the heavens.

Actually, I believe that the reason he grieves is because his time has expired on a prostitute, and he sees through the "romance." He imagines women, captured for work in a harem (notice the relation

to "dervish"). The "gifts" of course are the fruits of love. There are many references to fruits and gardens, the product and the womb. But he grieves, for he took his fruits and sent the lady away. The lady, angry at losing her support, frowns down upon him in scorn.

TWO PAGES OF THOREAU'S NOTES FOR *CAPE COD*

By THE EDITOR

Because the E S Q likes to report drifting manuscripts of Emerson and Thoreau—sometimes Whitman—we here report a recent sale at Goodspeed's, in Boston:[1]

OYSTERS, CLAMS, & CAPE COD

A THOREAU MANUSCRIPT

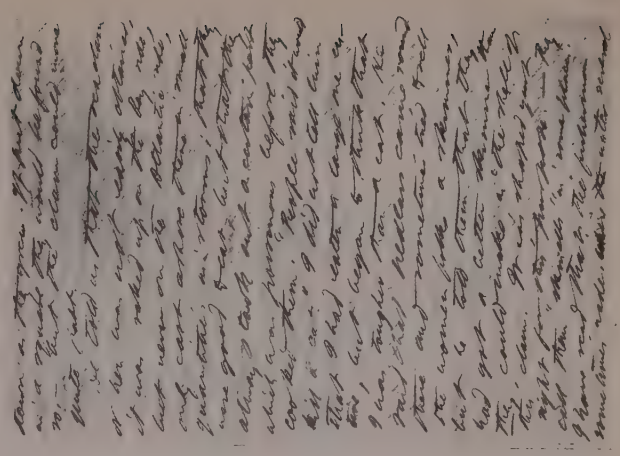
Thoreau "traveled much in Concord" and did what he considered his serious work there, but from time to time he took vacations—"excursions" he called them—to the Concord and Merrimac river country, the Maine woods, and elsewhere. On these excursions he made what Henry Seidel Canby calls "careful notes" which he later wrote up for use in his lectures and magazine articles. Thoreau went to the Cape four times. He used the notes of his first trip (in 1849, with William Ellery Channing), with additions from later notes, to make magazine travel-narratives, then very salable, and eventually his posthumous book, *Cape Cod* (Boston, 1865). Canby calls it "the most human of his books" and remarks that "those who find *Walden* too much of a tract read *Cape Cod* with more pleasure." And further:

> "It is a good kind of writing, a flow of narrative unchecked by much introspection. . . . The explorer of lakes and rivers wished to know the sea, and . . . hoped to study the effect of sea wind and sand upon the New England flora. To these natural phenomena he added sea folk and their ways, thus humanizing a narrative which has always been a favorite. . . . And on Cape Cod, his talent for friendship with eccentric personalities is very evident. The lighthouse keeper became his companion; the old man badgered by women opened out to him. . . ."

We have two original manuscript pages of the "careful notes" out of which Thoreau fashioned his book, *Cape Cod*. They are the beginnings of several pages in Chap. 5, called "The Wellfleet Oysterman," and they concern the old man who gives the chapter its name and also the articles of his commerce, oysters and clams. The old oysterman is not named in our manuscript nor in the printed book, but in the 1951 edition of *Cape Cod* he is identified as John Young Newcomb ("Uncle Jack") and Henry Beston, in his introduction to the same edition, asks ". . . is not the oysterman perhaps the most living of all the Thoreau gallery of characters?" The hen-pecked oysterman, then nearly ninety, had been fourteen at the time of the Battle of Concord and was interested to learn that Channing and Thoreau were from those parts. The latter adds, "We were obliged to confess that we were not in the fight."

The Wellfleet oysterman passage was first printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* of October, 1864, and in book form later the same year, though with an 1865 title page date. Our manuscript differs considerably from the printed versions. The latter contain historical references to the Cape which the author must have worked up after his return to Concord, whereas the manuscript contains only what his eyes, ears, and nose told him while he was actually walking the Cape. It begins mid-sentence; we have indicated in brackets the words which precede it, as printed:

> "[A few years ago sixty thousand bushels (of oysters) were annually] brought from the South and planted in the harbor of Wellfleet, till they obtained the proper relish of Billingsgate [a section of Wellfleet]. . . . The old man said that the oysters were liable to freeze in the winter if planted too high, but if it were [i.e., were not] so cold as to strain their 'eyes' they were not injured. . . . 'Can an oyster move?' I inquired. 'Just as much as your shoe,' he replied. But when I caught him saying that they 'bedded themselves down in the sand, flat side up, round side down,' I told him that my shoe could not do that without the aid of my foot in it; at which he said that they merely settled down as they grew. If put down in a square they would be found so, — but the clam could move quite fast.
>
> "He told us that the sea clam or hen was not easily obtained; it was raked up on the [Massachusetts] Bay side, but never on the Atlantic side . . . that they were good to eat, but that they always took out a certain part which was poisonous. . . . 'People said it would kill a cat.' I did not tell him that I had eaten a large one entire, but began to think that I was tougher than a cat. . . ."



Our manuscript concludes with the Wellfleet oysterman's account of skimmers or skim-alls and his remark that a clam shell was better than skimmers the peddlers sold—and it breaks off, as it began, in the middle of a sentence. We have quoted only part of it, but enough to give its seafood flavor and an idea of how this first draft differs from the printed version. Thoreau manuscripts of outside-Concord content are scarce, and this is a fine, Cape Cod example — two quaint pages in ink — $365.

I have before me a clipping from The Cape Codder (Orleans, Mass.), June 5, 1958, with the following headlines: "Thoreau's Manuscript On Wellfleet Oysterman To Be Lodged in Wellfleet." The article follows: The original hand-written manuscript by Thoreau covering the famous episode of "The Wellfleet Oysterman" will be lodged permanently in Wellfleet beginning this summer. The recently discovered valuable manuscript has been purchased by Frederic G. Melcher, editor of Publishers Weekly and long-time summer resident of Wellfleet. Mr Melcher is bringing it to Wellfleet on June 20 and will turn it over to the Wellfleet Historical Museum.

Goodspeed's, the Boston book dealer, dug up the two original pages and listed the manuscript in its catalog last month. "When I saw it covered the story of the most famous episode in the book, his evening with 'The Wellfleet Oysterman,'" Mr Melcher said in a letter to The Cape Codder this week, "I felt that this sheet simply had to be lodged in Wellfleet and in its little historical museum which Lydia Newcomb (same name as the Oysterman) has developed with great talent and devotion."

The Morgan Library in New York which has in its prized collections most of the Thoreau Journals, has taken a photograph of the Wellfleet manuscript for display there.... A section of the hand-written manuscript contains the following passage:

"A few years ago sixty thousand bushels (of oysters) were annually brought from the South and planted in the harbor of Wellfleet, till they obtained the proper relish of Billingsgate (a section of Wellfleet).... The old man said that the oysters were liable to freeze in the winter if planted too high,

but if it were (i.e, were not) so cold as to strain their 'eyes' they were not injured... 'Can an oyster move? I inquired. 'Just as much as your shoe.' he replied. But when I caught him saying that they 'bedded themselves down in the sand, flat side up, round side down,' I told him that my shoe could not do that without the aid of my foot in it; at which he said that they merely settled down as they grew. If put down in a square they would be found so,— but the clam could move quite fast.

"He told us that the sea clam or hen was not easily obtained; it was raked up on the (Massachusetts) Bay side, but never on the Atlantic side ...that they were good to eat, but that they always took out a certain part which was poisonous ..... 'People said it would kill a cat.' I did not tell him that I had eaten a large one entire, but began to think that I was tougher than a cat...."

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1 The Month at Goodspeed's, XXIX, nos. 6-7 (March-April, 1958), pp. 141-143.

HARVARD MANUSCRIPT RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS OF LOWELL

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

The following manuscript material, followed by selected, scarce printed material will be found in the Archives in Widener Library, Harvard University:

College Papers, 2nd Series, vol. X: On list of candidates for a degree of LL.B. Letter of Prof. Simon Greenleaf, July 15, 1840, 81; Certificate of Levi Farwell, Steward, Aug. 25, 1841. For a degree of Master of Arts, 284; vol. XXI: Subscribes $5. for the Bust of Dr. Walker, 277; vol. XXII: Letter to Dr. Walker—1 Feb. 1855—about position occupied by Mr. Longfellow and requesting a year's leave for study, 47; Mentioned in letter of Benj. Peirce to Dr. Walker, 56; Confirmed as Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literature, and Prof. of Belles Lettres, 66; Mentioned Letter of Robert C. Winthrop, 14 March 1855, 77; Letter to Dr. Walker—4 Nov. 1855—his study of German, 318; vol. XXIV: Mentioned, 387; vol. XXVI: Mentioned, 37; Petition to the Corporation Sept., 1859, for an increase in salary, 296-297; Mentioned, 340. vol. XXVII: Letter to Dr. Walker, Jan. 18, 1860, from the Faculty on his retirement, 4-5; Salary increase, 12; Dr. Walker's reply, 37. vol. XXVIII, Letter to the Corporation, 9 July 1861, in behalf of Mr. Schmitt, also mentions Mr. Krauss, 209; Mentioned, 256. vol. XXX, Mentioned, 26.

Faculty Records, vol. XI. Admitted to full standing, 210; awarded Detur, 259; privately admonished for absences from recitations, 276; referred to the President for wearing a brown coat on Sunday, 289; publicly admonished for wearing a brown coat on Sunday, 292; assigned part in exhibition, 317; fined one dollar for cutting seats in the recitation room, 321; public admonished for excessive absences from recitation, 328; publicly admonished for omission and general negligence in themes, forensics and recitations, 343; suspended for continued neglect of college duties, 346; to pursue studies with Mr. Frost of Concord, 346; readmitted to College, 349; recommended for a degree, 350

Overseers' Records: vol. VIII: Voted LL.B. degree in 1840, 332; vol. IX: Voted Smith Professor of French, etc., 265; Confirmed, 280. vol. XII: Voted honorary LL.D. degree, 89; concurred, 92; Elected Overseer, 271. Appointed Smith Professor Emeritus, 273. On Committee, 275 (2); 326 (2); 390, 394 (2), 461 (2) (3); Present, 280. Concurred as Smith Professor-Emeritus, 282. vol. XIII, Death mentioned, 66; Committee appointed to prepare a proper expression of respect, 87. Memorial, 93, 94, 95.

Corporation Papers, vol. 130: 1835, Oct. 14: Mentioned. Letter of Prof. Benj. Peirce to Pres. Quincy on Mathematics. 1856, July 11: Mentioned in letter of Henry W. Longfellow. 1860, May 6, Suggests name of Mr. C. F. Bradford for honorary degree. 1861, no date, Letter to Pres. Felton—appointment of Ferdinand Bôcher. 1864, July ? Signed petition for an increase in salary. 1864, ? Signed petition to have library open in vacation. 1865, Apr. 27: letter to Pres. Hill—Instruction in foreign languages. 1866, June 15: Letter to Pres. Hill: Tutor to care for elementary work. 1867, May 24: Adds his name to Prof. Child's for honorary degrees for William Dean Howells and Charles Godfrey Leland.

Sibley's Private Journal: articles by Lowell, 268; exercises in gymnasium, 508; gives reading, 1036; as pres. of Alum. Assoc., 1046; entertains Class of 1877, 1064.

Notes in Italian 6, taken by W. R. Thayer, 1885-1886. Ms. notebook. HUC 8885.341.6.

[Newspaper controversy with Francis Bowen on Hungary, 1850-1851] Clippings. HUG 1232.314.

Celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of James Russell Lowell by the Cambridge Historical Society, Feb. 22, 1919. Camb., 1919

To the Class of '38, by their ostracized poet, (so called,) J. R. L. [Cambridge, Mass., 1838] *AC85 L9515 838t [Houghton Library]

The oration by James Russell Lowell, and the poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes, delivered in Sanders Theatre...November 8, 1886, on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard University. Supplement to the Atlantic Monthly, pp. 28. HUA 886.10

[Child, Francis James] Il pesceballo; in un atto. Musica del Maestro Rossibelli-Donimozarti. [3d ed.] Camb., 1862. Eng. tr. by J. R. L.

Harvard also has the 2nd ed., [Cambridge, 1862] and anr. issued by the Caxton Club, Chicago, 1899.

The Harvard Crimson Supplement, containing unpublished fragments furnished by Charles Eliot Norton, from the college lectures of James Russell Lowell. Cambridge, Mar. 23, 30, Apr. 13, 20, 27, May 4, 1894. HUC 8894.249

Harvard College During the War. Harvard Memorial Poems. By Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, and S. F. Smith. Reproduced from the New England Magazine. HUD 863.4

Class Poem. Class of 1837. 52 pages. HUC 6838.1 [Published in Cambridge, 1838.]

Memoir of James Russell Lowell by Abbott Lawrence Lowell. Rptd. from the Proceedings of the Mass. Historical Society, June, 1896.

The scholar-friends: letters of Francis James Child and James Russell Lowell. Edited by M. A. D. Howe and G. W. Cottrell, Jr. [Rptd. from the Harvard Library Bulletin, V, nos. 2-3 (Spring-Autumn, 1951; VI, nos. 1-2 (Winter-Spring, 1952). [Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1952]

Choate, Joseph Hodges: Address delivered at Cambridge to the Alumni of Harvard, June 24, 1885, on the occasion of Mr. Lowell's return from England. [American Addresses, N.Y., 1911, p. 123.]

Merrill, George Barney: James Russell Lowell: A paper read at the eighteenth annual dinner of the Harvard Club of San Francisco, Oct. 22, 1891. [San Francisco, 1891]. 19 p. HUD 3767.191

Commemoration of the centenary of the birth of James Russell Lowell, poet, scholar, diplomat, born in Cambridge, Mass., February 22, 1819. Died in Cambridge, August 12, 1891. Held under the auspices of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York, February 19-22, 1919. N.Y., 1919. HUG 1534.14

Curtis, George William: James Russell Lowell; an Address. N.Y., 1892. 64p. HUG 1534.15

STRAY LETTERS OF IRVING, EVERETT, VAN BUREN AND J. Q. ADAMS

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

The following hitherto unpublished letters are taken, with permission, from the scrapbook of the Peithologian Society of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut—a literary organization that brought distinguished speakers to the campus —Emerson among them—especially at the annual commencement season. They are all directed to officers of the Society—that is, to students of the College.

New York, June 24th 1835

Sir,

I have just received your letter of the 17th inst and will thank you to communicate to the Peithological Society of the Wesleyan University my grateful sense of the flattering mark of esteem which they have conferred upon me in electing me an honorary member of their institution. Testimonials of this kind are among the purest and brightest rewards that an author can receive; and I only wish that I could feel myself more worthy of them.

Accept, Sir, on your own part, my most sincere thanks for the very cordial expression of good will with which you have accompanied the intelligence and believe me

very respectfully

Your obliged & hb st

WASHINGTON IRVING

John W. Burruss Esq
&c &c &c

Boston 24 June 1837

Dear Sir,

I have received your favor of the 20th, in which you inform me that the Peithologian Society in the Wesleyan University has been pleased to elect me an Honorary Member of their fraternity;—A compliment which is duly appreciated.-

I should be happy to offer to the Library of the Association a volume containing a collection of my public addresses, if you will have the goodness to let me know in what way it can be forwarded to Middletown.—

With my best wishes for the prosperity of the Peithologian Society & of the Wesleyan University, I am, Dear Sir,

Respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

EDWARD EVERETT.

Boston 3d Octr. 1837

Sir,

I have your favor of the 29th ult. communicating to me the request of the Peithologian Society of the Wesleyan University, that I would deliver an address before them, at the next Commencement season. It would give me great pleasure to accede to the wish of the Peithologian Society, but having recently declined several similar invitations for the next summer, I feel compelled to ask to be ex-

cused on the present occasion.

With my best wishes for the prosperity of the Peithologian Society, I remain

Respectfully Your
obedient Servant,

EDWARD EVERETT.

Mr Elihu Spencer
Corresponding Secretary
of the Peithologian Society.

Dear Sir

I have rec.d your letter apprising me of my election as an honorary member of the Peithologian Society of the Wesleyan University Middletown Ct., and beg you to make my acknowledgments to the Society for the honor they have confered upon me.

Very respectfully

your ob.ent Servt.

M. VAN BUREN

Washington October 6. 1840

Mr G. G. Reynolds
Sec &c.

John W. Burruss Esq.r Corresponding Secretary to the Peithologian Society of the Wesleyan University, Middletown Connecticut

Washington 17. May 1836.

Sir

Nearly three months have elapsed since I received your Letter of the 22.d of February last, informing me of the honour done me by the Peithologian Society of electing me as one of their honorary members.—An extraordinary pressure of public business, succeeded by an indisposition of several weeks has occasioned the delay to the acknowledgment of the receipt of your Letter, and to the expression of the grateful sense which I entertain towards the Society, for thus associating me with their honours unable as I am to contribute to the labours from which the honours of the Society must result— To all Literary Institutions connected with our public Seminaries for the education of youth, I have entertained sentiments of personal attachment, from having been now a full half century a member of one of them, and from a conviction never shaken in my mind that their tendency is useful not only by inspiring and promoting ardour and perseverance in the pursuit of liberal studies, but by stimulating a laudable emulation both in the members of the association, and of their fellow students without the pale. To be aggregated with such a Society even by name, is in my estimation an honourable distinction, and I pray its members to accept my thanks to them for having conferred it upon me

I am, with respectful consideration, Sir, your obed.t Serv.t

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

STRAY LETTERS OF LOWELL, HOLMES AND BRYANT

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

The letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, edited below, belong in the Watkinson Library, now a part of the Trinity College Library in Hartford. The others are owned by the editor. Permission to publish the former has been received from Donald B. Engley, Esq., Librarian of Trinity College.

Whitby,
9th Sept: 1889.

Dear Professor Knight,

if I can make it possible, I shall be most happy to come to St Andrews. But I must leave it doubtful at present, as I go home earlier than usual. I have promised to visit Gosford if I can, & should I get as far north as that I should, I hope, find it possible to get on to you. I will let you know after I get back to London which will be in a day or two now.

I have been spending my usual month here (my ninth visit) & find Whitby more charming than ever.

Faithfully yours

J. R. LOWELL.

Professor Knight.

[Letter to Charles Hopkins Clark]

Boston Oct. 11th 1856

My dear Sir,

I send you by mail a copy of the Address you refer to, and also a copy of the whole proceedings. They cost me nothing and you are welcome to them. I was wonderfully abused by some of the papers for what I said, but I think Mr. Greeley and Mr. Sumner have learned that hard words do not convince people or make them any better, by this time. I have a small pile of these pamphlets— I sent a few to my friends and then forgot all about them. I thank you for reminding me that I possess these valuable documents, which I am afraid I shall keep undisturbed for posterity.

Yours very truly
O. W. HOLMES

[Probably the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the New England Society, in the City of New York, December, 1855. Oration: by Oliver Wendell Holmes, M.D. Poem: by John Pierpont...and a Report of the Festival. N.Y. (Wm. C. Bryant & Co.), 1856.

There are offprints of Holmes' oration of Dec. 21, 1855; on Feb. 16, 1856, Holmes wrote Charles Sumner that he had expected earlier to send him a copy of his "obnoxious address at New York."]

[Letter to George M. Clark:]

Boston March 17 1860

My dear Sir

I have just received and with great pleasure your beautiful volume of poems. If they wanted anything to recommend them then creamy leaves and fair types would of themselves make them attractive. But there is too much that is lively, natural, good-humored, home-flavored in the poems to need any such adornment and so I am sure your readers will say of the vein of the book that

Each lends each a double charm

Hoping that you will not consider y[o]urselves so excellently embalmed in this cheering volume that you will shew no farther signs of poetical life

I am Very truly yours

O. W. HOLMES

[The cataloguer's ascription may be incorrect for George Hunt Clark, who published poems at this time.]

New York, April 5th 1875

My dear sir,

Excuse . . . . . *

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

I send also the plan of the two farms so far as it has been made, that the Surveyor may complete it when the proper season arrives. I believe that my imperfect vision is one reason why the tracing of the boundaries was so perplexing to me When the Surveyor completes the plan it would be well for him to write off on a separate paper the external boundaries of each farm.

We have had a few mild days which have rapidly melted the snow in this region.

Yours very truly

W. C. BRYANT.

F. H. Dawes Esq.

*[About five or six lines of text cut out.]

Cummington
Massachusetts,
Sept. 8th, 1875.

Dear Sir.

I am glad that any one can speak so kindly of what I have written as you have done in your note of the 24th of August. I only wish that your good opinion were more fully deserved. At my time of life, however, one cannot hope to excel or even equal what he has already done. I am, sir,

faithfully yours,

Wm. C. Bryant.

Frederick Enoch, Esqre.

[The following is taken from List 1,030 of bookseller G. A. Van Nostall, 126 East 123rd Street, New York City, dated Sept., 1946:]

Autograph Letter Signed. 1p. 8vo. November 25th 1874. To Hon. John Bigelow. Accompanied by fine portrait. Together 2 pieces, framed and glazed as one.... Reads: "You put me among the eighties. Have you not given me short measure? twenty years less than I am entitled to? I have thought, since I received your letter, that I must be among the hundreds, for I cannot, for the life of me, remember what it is that I was asked to do for Mrs. Botta. Please let me know with all dispatch, and it shall be done. I have searched every corner of my brain for the matter to which you refer, and can find no trace of it. I must have got into that stage of life when today forgets yesterday. Yours very truly, W. C. BRYANT." Addressed: "Hon. Jno. Bigelow."

THOREAU IN THE PAPERS OF NATHAN BROOKS AND ABEL MOORE

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Several years ago I had the privilege of going through the papers in a large trunk in the basement of the Concord Free Public Library, publishing therefrom several documents of Henry and John Thoreau —mostly bills for the tuition of their students in the Concord Academy. [See "Thoreau Bills His Pupils at the Concord Academy," E S Q, no. 7 (II Quarter 1957), pp. 47-50.] At the time of the research, I provided the Librarian with a rough inventory by bundles, which I shall summarize here, calling attention to other Thoreau papers deserving our interest. Nathan Brooks, Esq., was a prominent Concord attorney; Abel Moore (Emerson's "Captain Hardy") held many posts in the town, one of them that of jailer, being prede-

cessor to Sam Staples, who jailed Alcott and Thoreau. [Among the manuscripts in the Concord Free Public Library are: Abel Moore's Account Book as keeper of the Concord Jail (1835-1842) and his Record Book of Writs and Executions in Concord (1816-1829), while he was constable and justice of the peace. Sketches of the lives of Brooks and Moore—by George Merrick Brooks and John M. Cheney respectively—appear in the Concord Social Circle Memoirs, second series.] In the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, is a collection of Abel Moore papers: deeds to his property, military certificates and commissions, his appointment as coroner, various documents such has his share in the Concord Social Library, his certificate as pew-owner, his appointment as jailer, papers concerning his guardianships, and genealogical records of his own and related families. (He apparently stemmed from John Moore of Sudbury, Mass., 1642.) Abel Moore and his children are fequently discussed in the typescript of Edward Jarvis' Houses and People in Concord, 1810-1820, compiled about 1882. Abel Moore, along with Dr. Ezra Ripley, his son the Rev. Samuel Ripley, Lemuel Shattuck, John Keyes, Colonel William Whiting and others, was active in the "Corinthian Lodge" of Masons in Concord. He died on Sept. 30, 1848.

In the following, I shall list the bundles as I numbered them, indicating the owner of the papers within, and pointing out anything significant about them.

[1] BROOKS PAPERS. Receipts and letters to him, including promissory notes. Various years, inclusive of 1842, 1849, 1851-1853.

[2] MOORE PAPERS. Receipts of all kinds. Letters to him. He features as merchant, jailer, blacksmith, and operator of a boarding house. A list is dated "Concord April 18, 1838 Abel Moore bo't at auction at Mr Emersons...." Some papers deal with his duties as justice and deputy sheriff.

[3] BROOKS PAPERS. 1847. Letters and notes.

[4] JOSIAH DAVIS PAPERS. 1828-1836.

[5] MOORE PAPERS. Bills (1813-1829). Some from Harvard College covering Samuel Hoar, Jr.

[6] MOORE PAPERS. Receipts and promissory notes, 1839-1840.

[7] BROOKS PAPERS, 1821-1829. Notes. Rare broadside: A Statement of the Expenses of the Town of Concord, 1823.

[8] BROOKS PAPERS, 1842. Mostly bills, some from Harvard College. Concord Academy receipt, N. Brooks, Treas.

[9] MOORE PAPERS, 1837-1841. Include note from D. C. Emerson.

[10] BROOKS PAPERS, 1831-1832. Receipts. Inc. statement of Phineas Allen, Jr., dated Concord, Aug. 25, 1832, to N. Brooks, covering quarter just completed for instruction of George Brooks and Caroline D. Brooks, as well as for a textbook, Popular Lessons. Other Phineas Allen receipts covering tuition of the Brooks children at the Concord Academy are dated: May 20, 1831; Aug. 24, 1831; Nov. 25, 1831; May, 1832; Nov. 23, 1832. A Richmond Nickles received instruction at Brooks' expense.

[11] JOHN J. BYRNES PAPERS. "Boston receipts" of 1838-1839.

[12] BROOKS PAPERS. Receipts, 1861.

[13] ABEL MOORE PAPERS. 1839.

[14] BROOKS PAPERS, 1839-1840. This bundle includes the Concord Academy bills sent to Brooks by Henry and John Thoreau, published earlier. Statement from Samuel Ripley, Waltham, June 10, 1840, covering tuition and board for George M. Brooks. Anr. dated Aug. 26, 1840, covering tuition and textbooks. Receipt: "Oct^{r} 7, 1839. Rec^{d} of N. Brooks Two dollars being one half of the am^{o} of the premium upon the Policy of insurance of Elizabeth [?]. M Thoreau by J Thoreau."

[15] MOORE PAPERS. Receipts, 1832-1833. "Concord Sept. 1833 Miss Moore to Phineas Allen—Dr. to loan of Piano—one year and three fourths—at $2.00 per year—three dollars 50/100. Received Payment—Phineas Allen jr."

[16] BROOKS PAPERS. 1836.

[17] BROOKS PAPERS. 1848

[18] BROOKS PAPERS. 1851-1854.

[19] BROOKS PAPERS. 1829-1830. Many receipts signed by Phineas Allen covering instruction at the Concord Academy for Caroline D. Brooks, and mentioning her textbooks: Aug. 21, 1829; Feb. 25, 1830; May 21, 1830.

[20] BROOKS PAPERS. 1827-1833.

[21] MOORE RECEIPTS. 1815-1823.

[22] BROOKS PAPERS. 1833-1834. Many receipts signed by Phineas Allen covering instruction at the Concord Academy for George M. Brooks and Caroline D. Brooks, mentioning textbooks. The dates are: Feb. 27, 1833; May 24, 1833; Aug. 22, 1833; Nov. 22, 1833; Feb. 21, 1834; May 31, 1834.

[23] BROOKS PAPERS. 1858.

[24] BROOKS PAPERS. 1824-1825. Includes accounts going back to 1819. Bill for diplomas of the Agricultural Society. "Concord March 2^{d}. 1825—Rec^{d}. of N. Brooks Sixteen Dollars, being one

eighth part of the balance of the expense of Concord Academy to this date. Josiah Davis Jr."

[25] BROOKS PAPERS. 1827-1828. "N. Brooks to John Thoreau Dr. Feb. 6, 1827 For 3 reams of paper— $9.40 Rec'd payment John Thoreau"

[26] BROOKS PAPERS. 1838-1840. Includes two receipts given Brooks by Henry Thoreau—dated Sept., 1838, and Nov. 28, 1838, covering tuition at the Concord Academy of George Brooks and Samuel Burr—reproduced in facsimile in E S Q, no. 7. Also receipt signed by George B. Emerson, of Boston, Apr. 1, 1839, for tuition of Caroline D. Brooks for quarter ending Mar. 23, 1839 + volume of Bigelow's Technology. Anr., dated Jan. 16, 1839, for quarter ending Jan. 5, 1839, + Smellie's Philosophy.

[27] ORDERS directed to Messrs. Bascom & Co., a kind of grocery. 1828-1829.

[28] BROOKS PAPERS. 1847. "Concord, Dec. 1, 1846" —bill addressed to "Messrs. Proprietors of the Concord Academy"—assessment no. 8 of the "Middlesex Mutual Fire Ins. Co., N. Brooks, Agt."

[29] BROOKS PAPERS. 1860-1861.

[30] BROOKS PAPERS. 1847-1848.

[31] BROOKS PAPERS. 1854-1855.

[32] BROOKS PAPERS. 1857.

[33] BROOKS PAPERS. 1851-1852.

[34] BROOKS PAPERS. 1845. Includes a receipt of Henry D. Thoreau, dated "Concord Dec 18th 1845" to the Misses Hosmer. See facsimile below.

[35] BROOKS PAPERS. 1859.

[36] BROOKS PAPERS. 1837-1838. Include two receipts by Samuel Emerson, dated Jan. 24, 1837; Aug. 19, 1837.

[37] BROOKS PAPERS. 1855-1857.

[38] BROOKS PAPERS. 1812-1819.

[39] BROOKS PAPERS. Receipts and orders, 1818-1820.

[40] BROOKS PAPERS. 1822-1824. Early Concord tax receipts.

[41] BROOKS PAPERS. 1821-1822.

[42] BROOKS PAPERS. 1814-1831, all in account with A. Bigelow.

[43] STEPHEN MINOTT: receipts given by him, 1797-1807.

[44] BROOKS PAPERS. 1832-1845, all in account with E. Phinney.

[45] STEPHEN MINOTT. 1790-1805.

[46] MOORE PAPERS. "Bills for House" 1839-1843.

[47] MOORE PAPERS. 1843-1844. Includes one of Moore's interesting affidavits.

[48] MOORE PAPERS. 1822.

[49] MOORE PAPERS. 1816-1837.

[50] BROOKS PAPERS. 1849. Accounts with his brother, Franklin.

[51] MOORE PAPERS. 1830-1831. Includes an interesting handbill of Robert W. Trap, Washington St., Boston.

[52] MOORE PAPERS. 1848

[53] MISCELLANEOUS: Auction lists, ca. 1822-1823 and later, containing lists of purchasers. One item in this bundle is a small book, one end of which bears the title, "Lunar Observations taken on board the Ship Minerva 1817."

[54] MOORE PAPERS. "Abel Moore Memorandum Book Nov th 10 1842". Covers through the year 1847.

[55] MOORE PAPERS. 1836.

[56] MOORE PAPERS. 1830.

[57] MOORE PAPERS. 1847. Includes bills from Daniel C. Emerson and the Fitchburg R. R.

[58] MOORE PAPERS. 1842.

[59] MOORE PAPERS. 1825.

[60] BROOKS PAPERS. 1850-1851.

[61] BROOKS PAPERS. 1846-1847. Receipt signed by D. C. Emerson. Bundle is wrapped in an auctioneer's handbill of Concord, 1846.

[62] BROOKS PAPERS. 1838.

[63] PAPERS covering the estate of STEPHEN MINOTT, 1818-1822.

[64] JOSIAH DAVIS PAPERS. 1817-1827. Pencilled inventory in the hand of Abel Moore.

[65] BROOKS PAPERS. 1834-1835.

[66] SAMUEL BURR GUARDIANSHIP PAPERS. 1829-1830.

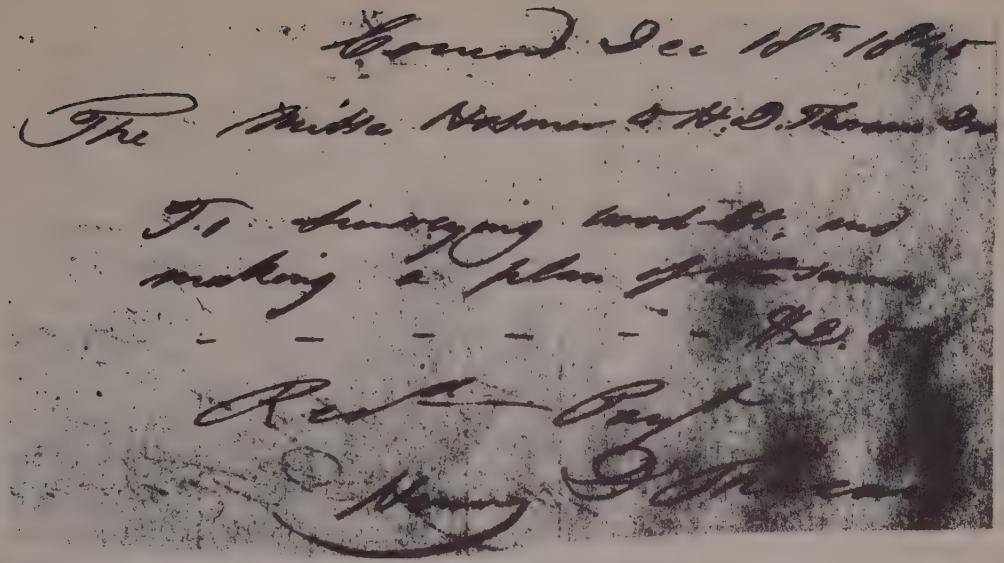
[67] BROOKS PAPERS. 1825-1826.

[68] MOORE PAPERS. 1834.

[69] MOORE PAPERS. 1845.

[70] BROOKS PAPERS. 1815-1840. "Notes Paid".

[71] BROOKS PAPERS. 1827-1854. Includes his own cancelled notes and papers belonging to others gathered by him.



[72] BROOKS PAPERS. 1862-1863.

[73] BROOKS PAPERS. 1858-1859. Contains interesting broadside of the "American Republican Ticket" for ?1858.

[74] BROOKS PAPERS. 1814-1815. Receipts.

[75] BROOKS PAPERS. 1841-1844. Includes an 1843 bill from Harvard College. Also: "Concord April 1st 1843. Miss Martha Keith to S. E. Thoreau——Dr. To instruction the quarter commencing Jan. 9th—— $6 00, Received Payt. S. E. Thoreau."

[76] MOORE PAPERS. 1824. "Bills & Accts."

[77] MOORE PAPERS. 1846

[78] BROOKS PAPERS. 1849.

[79] BROOKS PAPERS. 1859-1860.

[80] MOORE PAPERS. 1835. Bills.

[81] MOORE PAPERS. 1837. Bills.

[82] BROOKS PAPERS. 1852-1853. Contains a receipt endorsed June 10/52:

Nathan Brook [sic] to H. D. Thoreau Dr.
To surveying & making a Plan of a Farm
in Lincoln Mass $18,00
Recd Payt
Henry D Thoreau

[83] BROOKS PAPERS. 1862-1863.

[84] MIDDLESEX COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS for July 4, 1844.

In a package of Nathan Brooks Papers marked "Bills and Accounts against various persons uncollected—outlawed—dead and buried" appears the following paper, referring apparently to a debt owed by Thoreau's father:

Mr. John Thoreau to Bascom & Thompson Dr

For merchandise from Nov, 1826, to Nov, 1827 delivered at sundry times as per bill ———$143.57 Cr by Cash———

THOREAU

IN THE MEMOIRS OF THE CONCORD SOCIAL CIRCLE

By THE EDITOR

The following excerpts from the Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord (5 vols., Cambridge, 1888-1940) deserve to be remembered and included in studies of Thoreau's youth:

I

Reuben Nathaniel Rice, the only son of Nathaniel Rice and Hannah Maynard, was born in Boston on the thirtieth day of May, 1814. What education he received as a boy was had in the public schools of his native town. His father, a native of Sudbury, moved to Concord in the year 1829, and he was employed as a clerk in the Green Store, which stood on the present site of the Catholic church, and in which the post office was kept.... Reuben was a thick-set, black-haired, red-cheeked, chubby, merry boy, who soon became expert in the business of the store and post office, knew everybody in town, and was always social, friendly, and accommodating. Everybody liked him, and he was industrious and attentive enough to be respectable, though he was very fond of having a good time, was ready to share in whatever fun was to be had, had a strong perception of the humorous, and a fondness for practical jokes. His companions and associates were the Concord boys and young men at school or

(n college, or otherwise preparing for their employment in life. George F. Bemis and William S. Robinson were employed in the printing offices of the town, where two weekly newspapers of opposite politics were then published. Albert H. Nelson, Henry Reuben, and John B. Moore, William Whiting, William M. Prichard, Hiram B. Dennis, J. F. Barrett, Francis Munroe, Rufus Hosmer from Stow, Josiah G. Davis, John and Henry D. Thoreau, were his comrades in all the parties, dances, and various schemes for entertainment which occupied the leisure hours of the young people of the village.... (III, 143-144).

II

Happily for us boys, there was then no law against collecting birds' eggs, which pursuit, as practiced by a few of us under the friendly interest of Mr. Thoreau, was harmless, for we always left the mother bird her share of the eggs. Mr. Thoreau gave us a knowledge of the beautiful spots in Concord, and the kinds of birds, their habits, and songs; and incidentally also of flowers, trees, animals, and reptiles —a delight at the time and through life. He did not often go with us, except when we were proud to show "Dave" (as he was irreverently called) some special find, but he was always ready to answer our questions and show us his collections, and when Ned and I were big enough to go to Wachusett or Monadnoc, took great interest, like an elder brother, in advising us about our camping. (Edward Waldo Emerson on "Edward Jarvis Bartlett," V, 113).

III

We roamed the woods and fields together for a collection of birds' eggs; his [Richard Fay Barrett's] Uncle Frank Wheeler's farm was a fine place for woodpeckers and bank swallows. We once found a rare nest in the Cyrus Hosmer swamp, which we reported to Mr. Thoreau, who went with us to see it. Mr. Thoreau told us it was a Virginia rail's nest. He took an egg from the nest, blew it carefully, and deposited it in a bandanna handkerchief in the tall crown of his drab soft hat.... (V, 102-103).

IV

[From John Shepard Keyes' autobiography:] To return to myself: the summer slipped away and the dreaded college examination was at hand. The Monday before commencement, then the last Wednesday in August, was the appointed time. To reach Cambridge in season then involved going down Sunday night, and my arrangements to spend the nights with David Henry Thoreau, as we all called him then, had all been comfortably agreed upon. Nothing memorable happened on that momentous ride bearing a green boy to the first of his decisive trials in real life, and I was dropped at the yard gate, where Thoreau met me and took me to his room in Stoughton.

I had kept up my pleasant acquaintance with Thoreau, who was [a little later] living in his shanty at Walden, where I sometimes went to see him, and oftener met him in his walks or on the river. I had some of his naturalist instincts and tastes and used to compare notes with him of birds and beasts, though I was no botanist as he was. His life at Walden has been somewhat misrepresented, as it was by no means so much that of a hermit as is now thought. He was at Mr. Emerson's and the village nearly every day, often partaking of meals there and at his father's house, and though not intrusive was altogether too egotistic to be either shy or retiring. He loved the woods, the pond, and the river, and having met a disappointment in his other love sought their consolation in preference to that of society. (V, 78, 80-81).

V

I have thought since he [Reuben Nathaniel Rice] left us, that it was a pity he had not been asked to write down for preservation some of his abundant and entertaining recollections of the habits, characteristic doings and sayings, and peculiar ways of the Concord people. He had stories of Mr. Wesson and Captain Abel Moore, of Mr. William Munroe and Mr. Cheney, of Dr. Bartlett and George Minot, of Henry Thoreau and his father and mother, of Albert H. Nelson and Hiram Dennis, of Phineas How and William Shepherd, and Rufus Hosmer and Anthony Wright, which would have enriched our collection of Concord memories, and which I fear will now find no record. (III, 152-153).

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE CONCORD ACADEMY

By THE EDITOR

1822

[William Whiting writes about his concern over his son, William Whiting, Jr.:] "In 1821, a man named Forbes taught the grammar school in the centre of the town. William had never attended any but a woman's school. He commenced going to Mr. Forbes. Before he had attended the school a week, his body was quite speckled with black and blue spots caused by blows from his schoolmates. Mr. Forbes advised me to take him away, saying he would as soon put a child of his on board a man of war as send him to that school. In 1822 I began to feel deeply the need of some better means of educating our children. It had been a favorite project of my wife and myself to give our children as good an education as could be obtained within a reasonable distance, let the expense be what it might. We both lived as prudently as we could. We even went so far, for years, as to decline going into company, because it would subject us to the expense of having company in our turn. I happened one day to be in Mr. Josiah Davis's store, which was then opposite to my manufactory. I entered into conversation with Mr. Davis upon the immediate necessity of having some better means of educating our children. I told him I was willing to pay a portion towards erecting an academy somewhere in our neighborhood, if I could get somebody to join me. He said he was both ready and willing to be one of a small company to do the same, and, while we were talking, Hon. Samuel Hoar came in, and seemed much pleased with the idea, and readily joined us. Dr. Abiel Heywood and Hon. N. Brooks also agreed to take part in the undertaking, and the expenses of the

land and building were paid by the following persons, and in the ratio, viz.: Hon. Samuel Hoar, Mr. Josiah Davis, Hon. Abiel Heywood, each one fourth; Hon. Nathan Brooks and William Whiting, each one eighth. Mr. Davis was authorized to erect the building; the land was bought of Colonel Daniel Shattuck. I think the land and building, and all the apparatus for commencing the school, cost about twenty-four hundred dollars." [Memoirs of the Social Circle, II, 258-259]

The academy, which he [Colonel Whiting] assisted in founding, had as its first teacher for three years, Mr. George Folsom, who was afterward somewhat prominent in New York politics, and became the American minister at the Hague; and a little later Richard Hildreth, the historian, who was a good classical scholar. Colonel Whiting had his daughters instructed—not then a common thing—to the same extent as his son, so far as this school afforded the opportunity, and they became well educated and accomplished women, who made their father's house attractive to the best society. The elder of the two never married. The younger, who married the Rev. Stephen Barker, was a woman of striking presence and character, who rendered precious and honorable service to her country in connection with the sanitary commission, and the hospitals in and around Washington at the time of the Civil War. [Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar in Memoirs of the Social Circle, II, 263-264]

[Setting:] On the corner of the [Academy] lane and the main road was Colonel Whiting's large carriage factory in which all branches of the work were carried on. Right in front of the Academy was the shop where the silver plating of carriages and harnesses was done. Here Plater Brooks, a kindly old man, worked by himself many years, and here I studied harder and learned more than in school.

On Main Street, opposite that end of Academy Lane, was Josiah Davis's general store and dwelling house, where much trade was carried on with the neighboring townspeople. Beyond this to the river there were but two houses on each side of Main Street, and the fields were cultivated or pastures, like those of any other farms. [Memories of John Shepard Keyes in Memoirs of the Social Circle, V, 73]

Notice.

THE Concord Academy, under the instruction of Mr. George Folsom, will commence its first quarter on Tuesday, the third day of September next. As the number of Students is limited, persons who wish to send are requested to make application as soon as may be to the subscriber.

JOSIAH DAVIS, Treasurer

Concord, July 27, 1822.

[Middlesex Observer, July 27, Aug. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1822]

Concord Academy.

The second quarter commences on Tuesday the third day of Dec next. All those who wish to attend are requested to make application to

JOSIAH DAVIS, Trea.

Concord, Nov. 15, 1822.

[Middlesex Observer, Nov. 16, 1822. Reptd. Nov. 23. The opening date was changed to Dec. 9, as may be seen in the advertisement below. I shall hereafter not list the issues of the paper.]

Concord Academy.

THE commencement of the second quarter will be on Monday the 9th Dec. next. All those who wish to attend are requested to make application to

JOSIAH DAVIS, Trea.

Concord, Nov. 30, 1822.

1823

Concord Academy / THE next quarter commences on Monday March 10th. All those who wish to attend are requested to apply to the subscriber previous to that time, as the number is limited. / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treasurer. / Concord Feb. 15, 1823.

Concord Academy./ THE Summer term of the Concord Academy, under the instruction of Mr George Folsom and Miss E. Page, will commence on Monday the ninth day of June next. All persons wishing to send to the Academy, may be assured that every attention will be paid to the morals and improvement of the pupils—that the useful branches will be there taught, and that board and tuition will be reasonable. Application for admission to be made to the subscriber. / JOSIAH DAVIS, Trea./ Concord, May 20, 1823

1824

Notice / THE Spring Quarter of CONCORD ACADEMY will commence on Monday the 8th day of March next. This is a fine opportunity for Scholars under the instruction of Mr. FOLSOM. Number of Scholars is limited, so that every one will be attended to, and no exertion on the part of the instructer omitted. ☞ Expense per quarter very low. Apply to / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treasurer. / Concord, Feb. 28, 1824. [Concord Gazette & Middlesex Yeoman, Feb. 28, 1824. Repeated March 6, 1824.]

CONCORD ACADEMY. THE Fall Term of the Concord Academy, under the care of Mr FOLSOM, will commence on Monday, Sept. 6. On account of the limited number of scholars, this institution is thought to present advantages of instruction superior to those of any other school in this vicinity. ¶ The Latin, Greek and French languages, Mathematicks and Botany, together with the more common and important branches of English education, are taught in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the Proprietors of the School.—Tuition, Five dollars per quarter.—Board from one dollar and twenty-five to one dollar and fifty cents per week. / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treasurer. / Concord, Aug. 19, 1824.

[The length of the preceding is accounted for by the fact that both GROTON ACADEMY and STOW ACADEMY entered into competition with the local school by advertising in the Concord Gazette and Middlesex Yeoman.]

1825

MR. FOLSOM'S / SPRING TERM of his school, in this town, will commence on Monday the seventh of March next. The number of scholars in this school being limited, the instructor is enabled to devote all necessary attention to each scholar. The price of board is from $1,25 to 1,50 per week. / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treasurer./ Concord, Feb. 19, 1825.

Notice./ THE Summer term of Concord Academy, commences on the 6th day of June next.——A fine opportunity for 35 scholars. / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treas./ Concord, May 21, 1825.

[Concord then lost Mr. Folsom to the Framingham Academy, as may be seen below:]

Framingham Academy / MR. PIKE having unexpectedly resigned the office of Preceptor in the Framingham Academy, the Trustees think it proper to give notice to the public, and particularly to the pupils who attended the last quarter, that no interruption will be suffered in the progress of the School. Mr. GEORGE FOLSOM has engaged to take charge of the Academy, and to board in the house lately occupied by Mr. Pike, for the purpose of constantly superintending the studies and conduct of the Pupils who may choose to board there. The house is let to Silas Eaton, jr. Esq. for the term of five years, as a Boarding House, and the Trustees have no doubt that he will give entire satisfaction. ¶ Mr. FOLSOM has, for the last three years, been the Preceptor of the Concord Academy, and has a reputation both as a man and instructor, which needs no recommendation. The Trustees confidently hope that they have been able to make an arrangement which will support the character which the Institution maintained under the late Preceptor. ¶ The Quarter will commence on Monday, the 19th instant. By order of the Trustees, / JOSIAH ADAMS. / Framingham, Sept. 17, 1825.

[Concord Gazette & Middlesex Yeoman, Sept. 17, 1825, p. 3.]

NOTICE. / THE Fall Term at CONCORD ACADEMY, will commence on Monday Sept. 19, 1825. / TUITION, $5 per Quarter, and Board in good families, from One Dollar Twenty-Five Cents to One Dollar Seventy-Five Cents per week. / Sept. 3, 1825.

[Signature omitted for the first time. No details concerning preceptor given.]

1826

Concord Academy. / THE Spring Term of the CONCORD ACADEMY, will commence on Monday, the 20th of March next. A favorable opportunity will then be given to all who may wish to send scholars to a school in which all the common and necessary branches of education are taught, and particular attention is paid to the manners and morals of the pupils. ¶ TERMS,—Tuition, $5;—Board, from 1,25 to 1,75 per week, in good families. / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treas'r. / Concord, Feb. 25, 1826.

[Still no name of the preceptor!]

NOTICE. / Concord Academy. / THE Summer term commences on Monday, 19th of June, instant. The number of Scholars limited. Tuition, $5——Board from 7s6 to 10s6 per week. Apply to / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treasurer. / Concord, June 3, 1826.

[In late summer, 1826, Edward Jarvis and Richard Hildreth were graduated from Harvard, the former taking the Town School and the latter, Concord Academy.]

He [Edward Jarvis] had engaged to teach the Concord town school at the usual salary, five hundred dollars a year. This was a low reward, but he could board at home without cost.... The school began pleasantly, and was so continued through the year.... During this year he studied medicine between schools with Dr. Josiah Bartlett, but this was not much more than nominal. Jarvis studied much botany this year. He gathered and analyzed most of the plants in Concord. He read much history and many novels. He took great interest in the Sunday-school, which was organized for the first time in May or June, 1827. Dr. Ripley, then seventy-five years old, ...called a meeting to establish it on a permanent foundation. Jarvis was ready to cooperate, but he thought that as he taught all the week, he could not do more in that way without impairing his mental and moral power. He therefore declined taking a class, but offered to take care of the library, which he supposed would only require an hour's clerical work on Sunday.... He was chosen librarian, but he soon found that the library was first to be created before it could be kept and distributed to the scholars.... He raised funds by begging of the people, then he selected books;...they were to be examined, read, ...covered, labelled, and catalogued. So he found that instead of giving only an hour a week, as he intended, he gave eight or ten hours a week .... Richard Hildreth, his classmate, took the Concord Academy at the same time, boarded with Deacon Jarvis, roomed and slept with [Edward] Jarvis, and was his constant companion. They walked every day two, four, or six miles after school at night, whatever might be the weather. [John S. Keyes' "Memoir of Edward Jarvis," Memoirs of the Social Circle, II, 322-323]

NOTICE. / Concord Academy. / THE Fall Term will commence on Monday, Sept. 11th. All branches usually taught in Academies, are taught here, and the strictest attention paid to the Scholars, in their learning and morals. Board in private families at low prices. Tuition 5 dollars per term. Apply to / JOSIAH DAVIS, Treasurer. / Concord, Aug. 26, 1826.

1827

[The Yeoman's Gazette, Jan. 20, 1827, p. 4, gave the names of preceptors in the area at this time:]

ACADEMIES. / Framingham, Teacher, Geo. Folsom; Lexington, Wm. P. Huntington; Billerica, Jason Whitman; Concord, Rich'd Hildreth; Tyngsboro', Jeremiah Russell; Groton, John Wright; Westford, Simeon Putnam; Stow, Omen S. Keith; Groton, (Fe-

male,) Susan Prescott. [This information appeared in the annual "Register for the County of Middlesex."]

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE subscriber, who has for the two last years kept the Latin Grammar School in Brookline, will open a school in Concord, on Monday, the 3d of September next, in the house recently occupied by Mr. HILDRETH, and will receive under his care, pupils to be prepared for college, and such as desire to be instructed in the different branches of learning usually taught in the academies and schools in the vicinity. Particular attention will be paid to the morals of his pupils, as well as to their literary education. Board may be obtained in respectable families near the school-house on very moderate terms. Fees for tuition from $5,00 to $8,00 a quarter, to be regulated by the studies pursued by the scholars. Any further information desired, will be given on application to SAMUEL HOAR, Esq. or Mr. JOSIAH DAVIS of Concord, or to the subscriber who will remain in Brookline until September. / PHINEHAS ALLEN. / August 4, 1827.

CONCORD ACADEMY.——The autumn term of this seminary began on Monday last. For the accommodation of pupils who have not been able to begin on the first week, we would mention, that pupils may join at any time, and remain such a number of weeks as they wish, paying in proportion to the time they remain. ¶ The Academy begins the present year under a little different auspices from its former situation. Mr. ALLEN who was graduated at Harvard University in 1825, has undertaken the instruction on his own responsibility, relying on his own talents and fidelity to procure him patronage. This gentleman is already advantageously known to the public as a teacher in Brookline, from which town he came to this place. An eye-witness of his last school-examination in Brookline, has told us, that for many years there had been no instructor whose services had been crowned with such success as those of Mr. Allen. ¶ It is proper to remark that Mr. Allen boards in a private family where several of his pupils from a distance find accommodation of room and board; and he is disposed to watch over them, whenever his counsel and restraint may be needed, out of school hours, not less than during the usual hours of instruction. He is well versed in the French and other modern tongues, and will teach them with much correctness and fidelity. Under these circumstances, it is hoped that those who reside at a distance will find it for their advantage to entrust their children to his care; as we are confident, persons who know his worth in this vicinity, will give him a liberal support. [Editorial in the Yeoman's Gazette, Sept. 8, 1827, p. 2.]

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE public are respectfully informed, that the second quarter of this Academy will commence on Monday, Dec. 3. Where will be received, pupils to be prepared for College, and such as desire to be instructed in English, French, Arithmetic, Mathematics, and the other branches of learning usually taught in the academies and schools in the vicinity. The Precepter will be particularly attentive to the morals of his pupils as well as to their literary education. It is desirable that all should be present at the beginning of the quarter, consequently no allowance will be made in the terms for those who attend less than a quarter. / Terms——$5,00 per quarter. / P. ALLEN, Preceptor./ Concord, Nov. 17th, 1827.

[For a continuation, see Kenneth W. Cameron, "Young Henry Thoreau in the Annals of the Concord Academy (1829-1833)," E S Q, no. 9 (IV Quarter 1957), pp. 1-42].

• • • • • •

1834

I was now in my 'teens, a forward, smart, impudent, mischievous boy, fully up to my place in the world, and quite ready to take a hand in anything going on. The anti-Masonic excitement was raging. Father was a Mason, and King of the Concord Chapter, and I was dubbed Prince John. Politics were personal then if ever, and in 1834 they culminated in Concord in a manner that affected me permanently. At the March meeting that year the anti-Masons carried the Town and turned out Dr. Abiel Heywood the Clerk, Selectman, and factotum of the Town for thirty years, and elected Phin Allen, our Academy teacher, to the Clerkship. It was a revolution. The next morning I was told that I was not to go to school any more. It was high time it was ended. I had played truant every afternoon that previous winter—with no rebuke from the teacher, report to my parents, or effect on my lessons.

On June 1, 1834, we began a new private school kept by Mr. William Whiting in the upper hall of the Academy building. The newest books and methods, the zeal of the new teacher, and the inspiration of real knowledge made the school a success from the start. In a year and a quarter I learned more, ten times over, from Mr. Whiting than I had in the seven years of Mr. Allen, and acquired habits of study and application I had never before imagined possible. Latin became a delight and an actual language, Greek unfolded its mysteries and beauties, French its grace, and arithmetic and algebra became the fascinations of exact science. He introduced us to Shakespeare, to Plutarch, to Burke, and to English literature generally. What a revelation this time was to me, and to most of the others. [From John Shepard Keyes' "Autobiography" quoted in Memoirs of the Social Circle, V, 75-81]

1838

CONCORD ACADEMY. / An experienced and able instructor, (Mr. Levi Brigham, a graduate of Williamstown College,) has been obtained to take charge of this Institution, which will be opened for the reception of pupils on the first Monday in April. It is intended that both the instruction and discipline of the Institution shall be of the first order, and that the Academy in all respects, shall be worthy of liberal patronage. Instruction will be given in the common and higher English, together with the Classic branches of education.— Schol-

ars from other towns will be received, and board may be obtained in the village on reasonable terms. Parents retiring out of the city, or wishing to send their children out during the warm season, will find this a pleasant location, and that the literary and moral deportment of their children will be in charge of a trusty and accomplished teacher. ¶ Terms, from $4 to $6 per quarter, according to the branches pursued. / Concord, March 23, 1836.

[Some competition may have been offered by the Lexington Institute, which also advertised in the Yeoman's Gazette and gained Ralph Waldo Emerson for an endorser.]

LEXINGTON INSTITUTE. / MR. SAMUEL ADAMS, A.M. an experienced and accomplished Instructer, has been engaged to take charge of a School in that new and spacious building lately erected by Mr E. Robbins, and occupied as a Chapel in the East Village of Lexington.——It will be open for the reception of pupils, the first Monday of April next. Instruction will be given in the Ancient and Modern Languages, and in all the branches usually taught in the best Academies. Tuition will be from $5, to $10 per quarter. Board in respectable families can be obtained for $2 per week. ¶ ☞ For further particulars, please inquire of either of the subscribers. / Rev. CHARLES BRIGGS, Boston. / Rev. R. W. EMERSON, Concord. / FRANCIS BOWMAN, Cambridge. / AMBROSE MORRILL, Esq. / ELI ROBBINS, / Lexington. / Lexington, April 1, 1836.

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE SUMMER TERM commences July 5th.— The Precepter, Mr BRIGHAM, a Teacher of rare qualifications devotes himself assiduously to the advancement of his Pupils. All branches usually in Academies are taught in this; the location is pleasant: board may [be] had in this village on reasonable terms.——Particular attention will be paid to qualifying persons male and female, for teaching. Those who wish to accomplish themselves in this respect, will find the present a valuable opportunity; the Preceptor being himself practically a proficient in this art. / Concord, June 28, 1836.

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE FALL TERM of this Institution will commence on MONDAY, Oct. 3, under the charge of MR JOSIAH G. DAVIS, a graduate of Yale College. From the literary attainments and personal qualities of Mr Davis, the friends of the Institution have strong confidence in recommending it to the continued patronage of the community. The branches usually pursued in such institutions will be taught in this. ¶ The Terms will be $5 per Quarter, with an additional charge of $1 for those who study French. ¶ Concord, Sept 24, 1836.

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE next Term of this Institution will commence on Monday the 5th of December. All branches usually taught in such institutions can be pursued in this. The friends of the Academy feel happy in being able to recommend it to the particular attention and patronage of the community. The number of pupils the ensuing winter will not be large, consequently those who attend will receive more of the attention of the instructor, than they otherwise could. It is believed that few similar institutions present better advantages for the attainment of a thorough education, than this affords under its present preceptor, Mr J. G. Davis. ¶ Terms of Tuition $5 per quarter, with an addition of $1 for French. Board can be obtained in the village on reasonable terms. / Concord, Nov. 18, 1836.

1837

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE Spring Term of this Institution will commence on TUESDAY, March 7th. Tuition, $5 per quarter, or 50 cents per week. / J. G. DAVIS, Preceptor. / Concord, Feb. 18, 1837.

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE SUMMER TERM in this Institution will commence on TUESDAY, the sixth day of June, and continue 12 weeks. ¶ Tuition——$5 00 per quarter, or 50 cents per week, for a shorter period. / J. G. DAVIS, Preceptor. / Concord, May 26, 1836.

1838

Concord Academy. / THE SUBSCRIBER opened his school for the reception of a limited number of pupils, of both sexes, on Monday, September the tenth. Instruction will be given in the usual English branches, and the studies preparatory to a collegiate course. / Terms—Six dollars per quarter. / HENRY D. THOREAU, Instructor.

Referees. Hon. SAM'L HOAR. Hon. NATHAN BROOKS. Hon. JOHN KEYES. Rev. R. W. EMERSON.

Concord, September,14, 1838.

[This appeared in the Yeoman's Gazette on Sept. 15, 22, 29, 1838; with minor variations it also appeared in the Concord Freeman on Sept. 14, 21, 28, 1838.]

1839

CONCORD ACADEMY.——The above School will be continued under the care of the subscriber, after the commencement of the Spring Term, Monday, March 11th. / Terms per quarter, English Branches, $4,00 / Languages included, $5,00 / He will be assisted in the classical department by Henry D. Thoreau, the present instructor. / JOHN THOREAU, Jr. Preceptor. / Concord, Feb. 8, '39.

[In the Concord Freeman, Feb. 15, 1839, p. 5, the cost of the course with languages included was increased to $6,00. Added: "N.B. Writing will be particularly attended to."]

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE Summer term will commence on MONDAY, June 10th. / TERMS: / ENGLISH BRANCHES, $4,00 / LANGUAGES INCLUDED. $6,00 / N.B. No Pupils will be received for less than a term. / J. THOREAU, Jr., Preceptor. / Concord, May 31, 1839.

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE FALL Term will commence on MONDAY, September 23d, and continue twelve weeks. Terms: English Branches, $4,00 / Languages included, 6,00 / No pupils will be received for less than one quarter. / JOHN THOREAU, Jr. Preceptor. / Concord, Sept. 6, '39.

CONCORD ACADEMY. / THE Winter Term will commence on MONDAY, December 23d. Terms——English Branches, $4,00; Languages included, $6,00. / Pupils will be received at any time for one Quarter, or a longer term. / J. THOREAU, JR., Preceptor. / Concord, Dec. 6, 1839.

1840

Concord Academy. / THE Spring Term will commence on MONDAY, March 23d. / TERMS—English Branches, $4,00 / Languages included, $6,00 / Henry D. Thoreau will continue to assist in the Department of the Languages. N.B.—Scholars will be received at any time for a term not less than twelve weeks. / JOHN THOREAU, JR. Instructor. / Concord, March 6, 1840.

CONCORD ACADEMY.——The Summer Term will commence on Monday, June 29th. / TERMS——English Branches, $4,00 Languages included, $6,00 / Henry D. Thoreau will instruct in the Classical Department. / N.B. Pupils will be received at any time, for a term not less than twelve weeks. / JOHN THOREAU, Jr., Instructor. / Concord, June 19, '40.

Concord Academy. / THE Fall Term will commence on MONDAY, September 28. / TERMS, English Branches, $4 00 / Languages included, 6 00 / Henry D. Thoreau will continue to assist in the Classical Department. / Pupils will be received at any time, for a term not less than twelve weeks. / JOHN THOREAU, Jr., Preceptor. / Concord, Sept. 18, 1840.

CONCORD ACADEMY. The Winter Term will commence on MONDAY, Dec. 28th. / —TERMS— / ENGLISH BRANCHES——$4,00 / LANGUAGES INCLUDED——$6,00 / Pupils received at any time for a term not less than twelve weeks. / JOHN THOREAU, Jr, Inst'r. / Concord, Dec. 18, 1840.

1841

Concord Academy. / A TERM of this School commences on Monday, the 10th inst. The course of instruction is similar to that pursued in Institutions of the kind. / JAMES OLIVER. / Concord, May 6, 1841.

Concord Academy. / THE Fall Term of this School commences on the first Wednesday in September [Sept. 1]. The course of instruction is similar to that pursued in other institutions of the kind. ¶ The subscriber would inform his friends that as the number of pupils is limited, and as no pupil can be received after the commencement of the term, all applications for admission must be seasonably made. ¶ In no instance whatever, can a pupil be received into this school for less than the entire term; and except for sickness, no abatement for absences can be made in the price of tuition. Tuition $5,00. / JAMES OLIVER / Concord, August 4, 1841.

Concord Select School. / THE Subscriber, late Preceptor of Framingham Academy, will open a Select School, at the Concord Academy, on MONDAY, August 23d. The number of scholars will be limited to 25. Particular attention will be given to the morals and manners of the pupils, and no pains will be spared to render their situation pleasant as well as profitable. Board can be obtained in families of the first respectability, at reasonable prices. Tuition per quarter of 12 weeks—/ In English branches . . . . . $6. / Languages and higher mathematics . . 8. / Lessons in Music given if desired. / REFERENCES——Rev. Mr Frost, Hon. Samuel Hoar, Hon. John Keyes, and Hon Nathan Brooks, of Concord; Trustees of Framingham Academy, Framingham; Dr. John Homans, Wm. J. Adams, and F. O. Watts, Esqrs., Boston. / CHARLES W. GOODNOW./ Concord, August 20, 1841.

1842

SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES. / HELEN L. THOREAU will open a school for Young Ladies on MONDAY, May 2d. Terms——English Branches with Plain and Ornamental Needlework . . . $4 00 / French . . . 2 00 / Drawing and Painting in Water Colors . . . 2 00 / Oil Painting . . . 8 00 / Music on the Pianoforte . . . 8 00 / Scholars from a distance can be accommodated with board in the family with the Teacher at $2,00 per week. / Apply at J. THOREAU'S. / Concord, April 8th, '42.

AFTERMATH

When young Middle Street rudely brushed the Old Academy from its path in 1850, Judge Hoar built a small schoolhouse, comfortable for its day, to meet the constant demand for a private school of better standards than the public schools of that day. At present it humbly serves the cause of letters, but thirty paces from its original site on the Sudbury road, a handmaid to the Library. The little schools of Miss Helen Maynard (afterward Mrs. Joseph Keyes), the Rev. James Thurston, and finally the very successful and attractive school of Mr. Sanborn, found their home there, and the Judge's three elder children and eight of his kin were among the scholars. [Memoirs of the Social Circle, IV, 41]

The Concord Academy still stands, some fifty feet southwest of its old site, shorn of its interesting belfry and changed into a dwelling-house,——the second on the left on Middle Street. Before the street was thought of it occupied what is now the middle of the road, well back from Academy Lane, its green in front of it and a little yard behind. [Ibid., IV, 10-11]

The academy building is the double house standing on the left of Middle Street as you go toward the Fitchburg Railroad station. The present owner is Mrs. Charles Emerson, who purchased it of Mr. W. E. Channing. [Ibid., IV, 160]

JONES VERY'S ACADEMIC STANDING AT HARVARD

By THE EDITOR

Jones Very's splendid academic record as a Harvard undergraduate in the Class of 1836 largely explains why he was chosen tutor in Greek upon graduation. (See my "Jones Very and Thoreau——The 'Greek' Myth," E S Q, no. 7 (II Quarter 1957), pp. 39-40.) The following six term scales, surviving in the University Archives, and published here with permission, give ocular proof of his rank at the end of the following six marking periods: Sophomore Year, 2nd term; Junior year, 1st and 3rd terms; Senior Year, 1st, 2nd and 3rd terms. Following the scales I reprint three important obituary notices concerning him in chronological order: Boston Sunday Herald, May 16, 1880; Boston Transcript, Dec. 1, 1880; and the Christian Register, Dec. 2, 1880. [For details about Harvard's marking system, see the "Chronology of Thoreau's Harvard Years," E S Q, no. 15 (II Quarter 1959), pages 2-108.]

Sophomore Scale. 2d Term 1833:4 —
2d Dec. 1833 — 16 March 1834

42	Ballard		1. Bartlett	7.664
30	Barnes		2. Very	7.483
49	Barrow		3 Wash 3	7.358
1	Bartlett	7664	4 Bigelow 1	7.277
4	Bigelow 1	7277	[illegible]	[illegible]
20	Brewer 2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
46	Cabot	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Chaplain			
10	Chisholm	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
21	Clarke 1	5031	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	Cook	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Crowninshield		[illegible]	[illegible]
9	Craft 2	5824	[illegible]	[illegible]

29	Davis	437	13 Richardson	6409
35	Davidson	4074	14 Scales	6209
	Earle 2		15 Parker 3	6190
19	Fisk	5741	16 [illegible]	6076
31	Fiske	[illegible]	17 Gale	6066
17	Gale	6066	18 Hunt	5969
44	Gardiner	2990	19 Fisk	5741
26	Gleason	5897	20 [illegible]	5717
32	Habersham	4204	21 Clarke	5631
48	Hecox	3590	22 [illegible]	5281
5	Heywood	7158	23 Ward	5145
37	Hodge	4051	24 [illegible]	5108
18	Hunt	5969		

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
APR 17 1961
CHICAGO

Junior. 1st Term. 1834:5. Scale

38 Ballard	4.295.	1. Bartlett.	10.578.
26. Barnes 1	6.044.	2. Very	10.433.
1. Bartlett	10.578.	3. West 2d.	10.125.
10. Bigelow 1	9.280.	4. Scates . .	9.909.
18 Brewer 2	7.487.	5. Nichols .	9.848.
39. Cabot 2	2.436.	6. Minot 2d	9.727.
11. Chisholm	9.021.	7. Heywood.	9.665.
Chadwick		8. Spelman .	9.661/2
22. Collier	6.786.	9. Cruft .	9.283.
14 Cook	8.652.	10. Bigelow 1st	9.280.
34 Crowninshield	5.226.	11. Chisholm	9.021.
9. Cruft 1	9.283.	12. Parker 2d	8.977.
Fiske		13. Ruggles.	8.846.
32 Fiske	5.539.	14. Cook .	8.652.
17. Gale	7.771.	15. Richardson	8.445.
27 Gray	5.856.	17 Hunt	7.885.
35 Habersham	5.127.	16 Gale.	7.771.
7. Heywood	9.665.	19 Brewer 1st	7.487.
30 Hodge	5.629.	[illegible]	
16 Hunt	7.885.		
29. Lee	5.694.	20. Minot 1st.	7.200.
23 Lothrop	6.435.	21. Wheelock.	6.882.
Minns	. . . .	22. Collier .	6.786.
20 Minot 1	7.200.	23. Lothrop.	6.435.
6. Minot 2	9.727.	24. Parmenter.	6.356.
25 Morris	6.172½	25. Morris . .	6.172½
36 Moseley	5.102.	26. Barnes . .	6.044.
5. Nichols	9.848.	27. Gray . . .	5.856.
12. Parker 2	8.977.	28. Prince . . .	5.730.
24. Parmenter	6.356.	29. Lee . . .	5.694.
33 Phillips	5.466.	30. Hodge . .	5.629.
28 Prince 1	5.730.	31. Read . . .	5.623.
31. Read	5.623.	32. Fiske . . .	5.539.
37 Rice 1	4.961.	33. Phillips.	5.466.
15. Richardson 1	8.445.	34. Crowninshield	5.226.
Robinson		35. Habersham	5.127.
13. Ruggles	8.846.	36. Moseley.	5.102.
4. Scates	9.909.	37. Rice 1st . .	4.961.
8. Spelman	9.661/2	38. Ballard.	4.295.
2. Very	10.433.	39. Cabot 2.	2.436.
19. Ward	7.296.		
3. West 2	10.125.	Minns.	
21 Wheelock	6.882.		

Ballard	5.361		1	Bartlett	13.587
Barnes 1	7.579		2	West	13.121
Bartlett	13.587		3	Very	13.074
Bigelow 1	11.506	JUNIOR	4	Minot 2	12.741
Brewer 2	9003	SCALE	5	Nichols	12.572
Cabot 2	2.794	3rd Term	6	Spelman	12.322
Chisholm	11.315	1834-35.	7	Heywood	12.163
~~Clarke 1~~	6		8	Cruft	11.754
Collier	6.786		9	Bigelow 1st	11.506
~~Cook~~					
Crowninshield	6.434		10	Parker 2d	11.481
Cruft 1	11.754		11	Ruggles	11.423
~~Fisk~~					
Fiske	6.551		12	Chisholm	11.315
Gale	8.978		13	Richardson	10.495
Gray	8.311		14	Ward	9.923
Habersham	5.965		15	White 3d	9.869
Heywood	12.163		16	Minot 1st	9.054
Hodge	6.816		17	Minns	9.038
~~Hunt~~					
Lee	7.268	Mar. 14—June 27 1835	18	Brewer 1st	9.003
Lothrop	8.000		19	Gale	8.978
Minns	9.038		20	Gray	8.311
Minot 1	9.054		21	Morris	8.260
Minot 2	12.741		22	Lothrop	8.000
Morris	8.260		23	Parmenter	7.916
Moseley	5.928		24	Barnes	7.579
Nichols	12.572		25	Wheelock	7.494
Parker 2	11.481		26	Phillips	7.349
Parmenter	7.916		27	Lee	7.268
Phillips	7.349		28	Pome	7.048
Prince 1	7.048		29	Read	6.830
Read	6.830		30	Hodge	6.816
Rice 1	6.053		31	Collier	6.786
Richardson 1	10.495		32	Fiske	6.551
~~Robinson~~			33	Crowningshield	6.434
Ruggles	11.423		34	Rice 1st	6.053
Scates					
Spelman	12.322		35	Habersham	5.965
Very	13.074		36	Moseley	5.928
Ward	9.923		37	Ballard	5.361
West 2	13.121		38	Cabot 2d	2.794
Wheelock	7.494		39	Davidson	

JUNIOR Scale
3d TERM
1834-1835

SCALE
1st Term
1835–38.
SENIOR YEAR

	Ballard	0066		1	Bartlett 1	15.125
	Barnes, 1	9028		2	West	14.715
	Bartlett	15125		3	Very	14.679
	Bigelow, 1	12857		4	Minot 2d	14.088
	Brewer, 1	9.914		5	Nichols	13.997
	Cabot	2948		6	Spelman	13.594
	Chisholm	12.644		7	Haywood	13.462
	Collier			8	Croft	13.247
	Cook	7362		9	Bigelow	12.857
	Crowninshield	6950		10	Chisholm	12.644
	Croft	13 247		11	Parker	12.512
	[illegible]			12	Ruggles	12.933
	Davidson	6 175	1	13	Richardson	12.012
	[illegible]	10.288		14	White 1st	11.231
	[illegible]					
	Gray	8.255		15	Ward	11.016
	Habersham	6.369		16	Gale	10.268
	Heywood	13 462		17	Minot 1st	10.119
	Hodge	7 532		18	Minns	10.088
	Lee	7.394		19	Brewer 1st	9.914
	Lothrop	8 9 25		20	Morris	9.483
	Minns	10.088		21	Lothrop	8.925
	Minot, 1, c.	10.119		22	Barnes	9.028
	Minot, 2, w.	14.088		23	Parmenter	8.850
	Morris	9.483		24	Phillips	8.709
	Moseley	6.901		25	Wheelock	8.374
	Nichols	13.997		26	Gray	8.255
	Parker, 1	12.512		27	Prince	8.080
	Parmenter	8.850		28	Read	7.633
	Phillips	8.709		29	Hodge	7.532
	Prince, 1	8.086		30	Lee	7.394
	Read	7.633		31	Cook	7.362
	Rice, 1	6.658		32	Crowninshield	6.950
	Richardson, 1	12.012		33	Moseley	6.901
	Ruggles	12.933		34	Rice	6.658
	Sumner					
	Spelman	13.594		35	Habersham	6.369
	Very	14.679		36	Davidson	6.175
	Ward	11.016		37	Ballard	6.066
	West	14.715		38	Cabot	2948
	Wheelock	8.374				
	White, 1	11.231				

1 Wide. 1st Term 1835-38

Senior Scale 2d Term 1835.6.

Ballard	6.243	1	Bartlett	16.009
Barnes, 1	9.543	2.	West	15.554
Bartlett	16.009	3.	Very	15.489
Bigelow, 1	13.416	4.	Minot 2d.	14.866
Brewer, 1	9.979	5	Nichols	14.796
Cabot	3.006	6	Spelman	14.234
Chisholm	13.278	7.	Heywood	13.831
Collier		8.	Cruft	13.781
Cook	7.860	9.	Ruggles	13.551
Crowninshield	6.984	10	Bigelow 1st	13.416
Cruft	13.781	11	Chisholm	13.278
Davidson	6.201	12	Parker 1st	13.043
Gale	10.517	13	Richardson	12.694
~~Gardiner~~				
Gray	8.247	14	White 1st	11.686
Habersham	6.192	15	Ward	11.339
Heywood	13.831	16	Minot 1st	10.685
Hodge	7.821	17	Gale	10.517
Lee	7.663	18.	Morris	10.057
Lothrop	9.092	19.	Brewer 1st	9.979
Minns	9.956	20	Minns	9.956
Minot, 1, c.	10.685	21	Barnes 1st	9.543
Minot, 2, w.	14.866	22	Phillips	9.424
Morris	10.057	23	Parmenter	9.251
Moseley	7.323	24	Lothrop	9.092
Nichols	14.796	25	Wheelock	8.733
Parker, 1	13.043	26	Prince	8.589
Parmenter	9.251	27	Gray	8.247
Phillips	9.424	28	Cook	7.860
Prince, 1	8.589	29	Hodge	7821
Read	7.642	30	Lee	7663
Rice, 1	6.615	31	Read	7642
Richardson, 1	12.694	32	Moseley	7328
Ruggles	13.551	33	Crowninshield	6984
~~Seaton~~				
Spelman	14.234	34	Rice 1st	6615
Very	15.489	35	Ballard	6243
Ward	11.339	36	Davidson	6.201
West	15.554	37	Habersham	6192
Wheelock	8.733	39	Cabot	3.006
White, 1	11.686			

. Ballard	6.360	1.	Bartlett	16.773.
, Barnes, 1	9.274	2	Very	16412.
. Bartlett	16.773	3	West.	16402.
. Bigelow, 1	13.761	4	Nichol 1.	15.531.
. Brewer, 1	10.018	5.	Minot 2d.	15.474.
. Cabot	2.697	6.	Spelman	14.643.
. Chisholm	13.900	7	Heywood	14.242.
. Collier		8	Cruft.	14.223.
. Cook	8.030	9	Chisholm	13.900.
. Crowninshield	6.721	10	Bigelow 1st	13.761.
. Cruft	14.223	11	Ruggles..	13.615.
. Davidson	6.104	12	Parker 1st.	13.597.
. Gale	11.055	13	Richardson.	13.327.
Gardiner				
. Gray	8.355	14	White 1st . .	12.026.
. Habersham	6.183	15	Ward	11.499.
. Heywood	14.242	16	Minot 1st . .	11.274.
. Hodge	7.858	17.	Gale . .	11.055.
. Lee	7.776	18	Morris . .	10.456.
. Lothrop	9.123	19	Minns . .	10.068.
. Minns	10.068	20	Brewer 1st. .	10.018.
. Minot, 1, c.	11.274	21	Phillips. .	9.862.
. Minot, 2, w.	15.474	22	Parmenter .	9.412.
. Morris	10.456	23	Barnes	9.274.
. Moseley	7.652	24	Lothrop .	9.123.
. Nichols	15.531	25	Prince 1st	8.841.
. Parker, 1	13.597	26.	Wheelock	8.763.
. Parmenter	9.412	27.	Gray . . .	8.355.
. Phillips	9.862	28.	Cook	8.030.
. Prince, 1	8.841	29.	Hodge . . .	7.858.
. Read	7.686	30.	Lee . . .	7.776.
. Rice, 1	6.695	31.	Read . . .	7.686.
. Richardson, 1	13.327	32	Moseley . . .	7652.
. Ruggles	13.615	33	Rice 1st . .	6695.
Saxton				
. Spelman	14.643	34.	Crowninshield	6.721.
. Very	16.412	35.	Ballard	6.360.
. Ward	11.499	36.	Habersham	6.183.
. West	16.402	37.	Davidson.	6.104
. Wheelock	8.763	38.	Cabot.	2.697
. White, 1	12.026	39.	Collier . . .	____

Union Scale 3d Term. 1835.6.

Rev. Jones Very died at Salem this morning. He was a graduate of Harvard, a poet of some note. He was sixty-five years of age.

The late Jones Very, born at Salem, Mass., in 1813, a graduate of Harvard in 1836, and subsequently a tutor in the university, was one of the best sonnet writers in the language. Like William Ellery Channing, he delighted to paint pictures of spiritual realities rather than of outward facts, and early gave himself up to a religious enthusiasm, which so possessed him that he left Cambridge and returned to Salem, where he has since lived in great retirement, writing sonnets for the Unitarian papers and magazines when the mood seized him, but taking no part in public life. He was a minister in the Unitarian body, but did not take a parish. His only published work is a small volume entitled "Poems and Essays by Jones Very," which was published by Charles C. Little and James Brown, in 1839, and contained three essays on "Epic Poetry," "Shakespeare," and "Hamlet," together with some sixty poems, mostly sonnets. It is believed that he was also one of the contributors to the Dial. He was one of the humble workers in the Transcendental movement, and has left a large number of choice poems, some of the choicest work yet done by any American poet, but now known chiefly to the collectors of fugitive verse. All that he has written is expressive of the spiritual life of the author. His essays and poems are in the same vein with the writers of the best English poetry of the seventeenth century. His object in analyzing the character of Shakespeare was to show that a desire of action was the ruling impulse of his mind, and that his life was "the unconscious work of God." Should his prose and poetical writings be collected, they would constitute one of the choicest volumes yet contributed to American letters, belonging, indeed, to no single department, but illustrating that department with singular and unique success. [N. Y. Times.

Two American poets, Charles T. Brooks of Newport and the late Jones Very, were born in 1813 in the old-fashioned city of Salem, within a little more than two months of each other, the former on the 20th of June and the latter on the 28th of August. They were companions in boyhood, and nearly companions in college days, Mr. Brooks being in the divinity school while Mr. Very was an undergraduate. They were also companions in song, and Mr. Brooks is the first to place the laurel wreath on his friend's grave. The following stanzas from his memorial tribute indicate the character and spirit of their friendship:

> As thou didst walk with God, so we,
> When by thy side we walked,
> And, in a reverent mood and free,
> Of man and nature talked—
>
> Felt that we, too, had walked with God,
> Whose breath was in the air,
> Whose spirit stirred the sluggish clod
> And woke the heart to prayer.

Jones Very was a descendant of one of the oldest Salem families. His father and mother were cousins, the former being the son of Capt. Isaac Very, and the latter a daughter of Capt. Samuel Very. His father, Capt. Jones Very, was a shipmaster. His mother's name was Lydia. Capt. Very commanded his first vessel at a very early age, and was engaged in privateering in the last war with Great Britain. Twice he took his young son to sea with him, once when he was only 9 or 10 years old on a voyage to St. Petersburg, and again when he was visiting New Orleans, where he placed his son at school. Jones Very was always a studious, thoughtful youth, much reserved, modest, shy, and yet not unapproachable. He was graduated at Harvard College, in 1836, with the second honors of commencement day, and took a high rank throughout the course both in classical and mathematical studies. His classmate at Harvard, Rev. J. H. Heywood, remembers him as a modest, cheerful, unworldly young man, an intense student, who won the respect of all who knew him, and inspired the feeling on the part of his classmates that he was always living in the spirit world above them. He was

A MATURE MAN, NOT A BOY

at all, when he went to college, and yet not unsympathetic with his classmates, not in the least dictatorial to them. He was a great walker, oftenest with his roommate, the late Thomas Barnard West of Salem, and, at times, with others. Very and West were known in college as those who strictly "sported their oak" during study hours. He often wrote his themes in verse, and was regarded even then as a mystical writer. A certain sweet benignity marked him then, as it did years afterward when he lived quietly with his sisters in Salem. He used to be pointed out as the man of intuition. He never argued. His greetings were always friendly, his eye expressing kindly feeling and speaking to others the spirit of his inner life. His mind, even then, was in a state of poetical and spiritual exaltation. He was not a practical man at all. Every one felt that he was living in and for a higher world, and yet this did not prevent the college faculty from appointing him the Greek tutor for the two years following his graduation. His work as an instructor was characteristic. He was too earnest in his thoughts, too much possessed by the feeling that God had revealed something specially to him, to keep strictly to the text-book. He would frequently rhapsodize about matters which only by the freest construction could be brought within the limits of Greek literature. This, however, only made him the more popular with the students, who greatly preferred his interesting talks to the severe study of Greek roots. He used to take long walks into the surrounding country with them in leisure hours, and his conversations on nature and truth and goodness have continued an inspiration with some of them, even to this day. This purity and earnestness and originality made them very fond of him. His tutorship ended, he became a member of the Harvard divinity school, where he

ATTRACTED UNUSUAL ATTENTION.

Among others, James Freeman Clarke was drawn to him. He was then the pastor of a Unitarian society in Louisville, Ky., and edited, as a pastime, an interesting magazine entitled the Western Messenger. Herein Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Humblebee" first saw the light, and here Jones Very's sonnets were first printed, with the following letter, written in 1839, accompanying them:

> Rev. J. F. Clarke, Editor Western Messenger: Hearing of your want of matter for your Messenger, I was moved to send you the above sonnets, that they may help those in affliction for Christ's name, to ever the prayer of me, his disciple, called to be a witness of his sufferings, and an expectant of his glory. If you should ask for more, as I have them, so will they be communicated freely. Amen. The hope of Jesus be with you, when you are called to be a partaker of his temptations. JONES VERY.

In his recent "Lowell Lectures," in treating of American mystics, Dr. Clarke thus alludes to him: "Shortly before the time of the Dial, another genuine mystic appeared in New England, who imitated no one, and seemed the outgrowth of the soil. I mean Jones Very, still living in Salem. He published sonnets which were the utterances of his own soul, and had the purity of the air in a bright December New England day. Some of them I think will not perish. Mr. Very believed with Mme. Guion and others that sin is self-will, and holiness absolute obedience in all things, small or great, to the will of God made known in the soul. He believed himself led, in all things, by the Spirit of God, and so illuminated as not to think or conjecture or believe, but to know."

Channing was at this time at the height of his fame, and, from his great feebleness of body, could mingle but little in general society, yet he was always eager to hear what any person of independent convictions had to say. Jones Very had already gained notoriety by

HIS SINGULAR RELIGIOUS VIEWS,

resembling, in some respects, those of Swedenborg. While there was no doubt of their genuineness, one who knew him intimately explains them in part as the result of intense study and meditation by a man who took almost no exercise, and whose mind was extremely susceptible to impressions. Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., then his teacher in the divinity school at Cambridge, sent for him, and heard his views expressed in the strongest words of conviction, and Very was moved even to tears because his amiable teacher could not believe that he was inspired of God with living truth. The report of his convictions raised such curiosity on the part of Dr. Channing that he sent to Very to come and talk with him. He responded, and the two saints sat opposite to each other in Dr. Channing's study. After listening to the young rhapsodist patiently till he had expressed his ideas sufficiently to be understood, Dr. Channing said, "Mr. Very, your opinion, then, is that, if you will put yourself in a state of passivity, God will instruct you and guide you what to do?" "Yes," was the reply. "Well," said the doctor applying his tests, "when you received my note, asking to see you, did you come in response to the letter, or did God tell you to come?" "God guided me to you," was the response. Then Very rose and rested his elbow on the mantelpiece. Quick as thought, Dr. Channing, to test him further, said, "Why do you rise, Mr. Very? Is it your will or the will of God that makes you?" The answer was unswerving: "It is in obedience to the Holy Spirit." Dr. Channing afterward told the story of his interview with Very to James Freeman Clarke, and was struck with the intensity of the young man's conviction that he was a special messenger of God. So greatly did this possess him that many thought him to be insane, and his friends finally placed him for a season in the hospital for treatment, but at most it was only the harmless insanity of the lower faculties. During the whole period in which he was in this ecstatic state, he was writing prose and poetry as fresh and original as have ever come from the pen of any American writer. Referring to

THE CHARGE OF PARTIAL INSANITY,

Dr. Clarke wrote in the Western Messenger, in 1838, the year in which Very's poems and essays appeared:

"The more intelligent and larger sort of minds who had conversed with him dissented from this view, and, although they might admit a partial derangement of the lower intellectual organs, or perhaps an extravagant pushing of some views to their last results, were disposed to consider his main thoughts deeply important and vital."

Mr. Emerson had now become deeply interested in him, and found in his sonnets a vein of thought kindred to his own, but in later years, though he collected the sonnets as they appeared in the Salem Gazette and elsewhere, he missed, as others did, the sacred fire which manifested itself in Very's younger days. It is said that Spinoza was a God-intoxicated man, and so was Very, but in the impartation of power to genius the divine spell was on him only for a season. His latest sonnets appeared in the Salem Gazette since the Channing centennial, and is a favorable specimen of his later verse. It is named "The Influence of Channing."

Stern creeds and outward forms must pass away,
Their purpose served to guard the life within;
We hail the advent of a mightier day.
Whose dawn on earth at length we see begin!
Channing, though thy frail form no more we see,
Nor hear, as once, thy calm, persuasive voice,
Thou livest still! we hail thy jubilee,
And in thy growing influence would rejoice.
The love of God and man thy simple creed,
The love of man as an immortal soul;
That as the slave from his true bondage freed,
And shall war's desolating wrath control,
Still may thy influence spread from clime to clime,
And win new victories with the years of time.

Another, bearing the title "What is the Word?" written some time ago, is worthy of his best days:

What is the Word? I often hear men say,
Greeting each other in the mart or street;
Seeking for something new, from day to day,
Of friend, or neighbor, whom they chance to meet.
The question wakes in me the thoughtful mind,
Do they receive the word they ask to hear?
Or is it only like the passing wind,
Or empty echo dying on the ear?
The word, O man, is not some idle sound,
Lost on the ear almost as soon as heard;
Unto the wise life-giving it is found,
And by its voice the inmost soul is stirred.
It falls not on the mind a barren seed,
But springeth up in fruitful thought, or deed.

A BEAUTIFUL VERSE.

There are few sonnets, even among those written by Shakespeare and Wordsworth, which surpass in simplicity and finish and subtle thought the one entitled "Change":

Father, there is no change to live with thee.
Save that in Christ I grow from day to day;
In each new word I hear, each thing I see,
I but rejoicing hasten on my way.
The morning comes, with blushes overspread,
And I, new-wakened, find a morn within;
And, in its modest dawn around me shed
Thou hear'st the prayer and the ascending hymn.
Hour follows hour, the lengthening shades descend;
Yet they could never reach as far as me,
Did not thy love its kind protection lend,
That I, thy child, might sleep in peace with thee.

While he was passing through the period of religious ecstacy alluded to, these sonnets were written impromptu, and were, he used to say, the gift of God to him. They are all upon one key, and, however the sentiment may sport with illustrations from nature, the poet inevitably returns in the closing lines to the "kindred points of heaven and home." "The New Birth" admirably illustrates the vein of his spiritual thought:

'Tis a new life;—thoughts move not as they did
With slow, uncertain steps across my mind,
In thronging haste fast pressing on they bid
The portals open to the newness wind
That comes not save when in the dust is laid
The crown of pride that girds each mortal brow,
And from before man's vision, meeting fade
The heavens and earth—their walls are falling now.
Fast crowding on, each thought asks utterance strong;
Storm-lifted waves swift rushing to the shore,
On from the sea they send their shouts along,
Back through the cave-worn rocks their thunders roar;
And I, a child of God by Christ made free,
Start from death's slumbers to eternity.

He was approbated as a preacher by the Cambridge association in 1843, and from that time has continued in this vocation, but, though he preached frequently at different periods in Eastport, Me., North Beverly, and in other places, never had a pastoral charge.

HE FAILED IN THE MINISTRY,

not because he had nothing to say, but because he had no voice, no manner, no presence, to give distinct and forcible utterance to his thoughts. His voice was low, and, at times, indistinct, and his presence clearly indicated that he was not a man for the rough and tumble of this world. In person he was of average height, slender build, and had a decidedly thin though not cadaverous look. In walking he moved rapidly, though he did not appear to. He usually wore his hat well down on his head, and his slender figure a little way off looked spectral. His face was thin; he wore no beard; his hair was slight, but dark, and not at all grey; and his dark complexion and healthy look indicated a well man. He never married. His family consisted of himself and his two sisters, Lydia L. A. and Frances E. Very, both of whom survive him.

And were until quite recently teachers in the Salem schools. His brother, Washington Very, had the poetical gift, and was a preacher, but was chiefly occupied as a teacher in Salem until his death on the 28th of April, 1853. His sister Lydia is also a writer of excellent poetry, and, in addition to this, paints, botanizes and models well in clay. All the family were gifted but reticent, bright, yet unassuming and modest, but the sisters seem to have surpassed the brothers in force and energy. It can hardly be said that Jones Very was a literary man. His reading was evidently desultory, and his time much divided in summer between rambles in the pastures about Salem and his garden. He was a regular visitor at the Essex Institute and at the newspaper offices, where he always devoured the new books, and such papers as the considerate editors knew he was interested in; but day after day passed by, and only these infrequent sonnets marked the activity of his mind. He was a literary and religious recluse, a negative being, a failure as he used to call himself, and yet, judged by a not common standard, his life, as the protest of a truly spiritual and healthy religious man against the materialization of his day, as an example of the purest and highest thinking, and as an instance of what a man may do who lives according to the natural law of his being,

WAS A SIGNAL SUCCESS.

He was not a dreamer, not an idler, not an anchorite. "The man who walked for an afternoon with Jones Very," says Mr. Foote, his life-long friend, in the Salem Gazette, "would find him an ardent admirer of the wild flowers, not necessarily for their fragrance or their beauty, though he admired these, but for the living evidence they were to him of God's care for every work of his creation. To kill or ruthlessly push aside any living thing was to him sacrilege, so long as it was doing no harm. * * * He lived in an atmosphere of reverence for all created things. * * * He saw things with an intuitive sight which can never be reasoned out to a mind not similarly favored; and yet the solidunity of his faith somehow seemed the produce of an inspiration that carried with it conviction to others."

He called himself a Channing Unitarian, and yet men who called themselves extremely radical in Salem, his friends and neighbors, came to be deeply attached to him for the fine religious sincerity and unconventional faith which dwelt within him, and last Tuesday, when the last words were said over his mortal remains, these men, his opposites in much that belongs to religious belief, were sincere mourners at his grave, and bore witness in their respect for him that, if his career was not widely heralded, he was yet no common man. If he never took root in his own time, he certainly lived an ideal life, which was intensely real in its influence upon the few who knew him well.

One of these Salem friends, Mr. Edward A. Silsbee, himself a man of rare ability, in estimating Jones Very's place in American literature, if perhaps a little enthusiastic in his opinion of one whose sonnets Dr. Peabody pronounces "some of the best in the language," has written so truly of his earlier and better poetry, that we copy his criticism from the Salem Gazette, as the best and truest

STATEMENT OF HIS MERITS

that has or can be written:

Perhaps no more pure inspiration has ever existed than the early poetry of Mr. Very shows. It is drawn from a source where literature rarely goes, the soul—a living fount of devout sensibility, and a style as clear as the sky. Whenever Shakespeare's lines trip off his tongue as if they wrote themselves and are matchless in ease and inspiration, then the Saxon comes in with its mother tongue. Mr. Very uses the same language. With no consciousness, with an inspiration beneath rhetoric, fancy, style, he has the best. Form in literature is perfect expression. He doesn't dream of it. He has it. The brooks purl no clearer diction. There is the nearness of Wordsworth, the piety of Herbert. There is no twang, not a word of cant of any creed or time—perfect transparency. No such singular expression, no such single and simple-minded exhibition of genius, without literary ambition or thought, is to be found. Emerson, Hawthorne, are literary, Herbert was full of ingenuous fancy; the mystics are introverted. The out-or-doorness of Very is as healthful as a spring morning. Spontaneity! Nature herself could do no better! The 50 sonnets Mr. Emerson collected from the Salem papers 40 years ago, and sundry hymns, are a soul's history written with a pen of light. They are varied in structure; invaried in excellence; the same marvellous sensibility is upheld in them throughout.' Mr. Very's attitude to nature was that of a child, but an inspired child, with a soul commensurate with the orb in which we dwell. It is a mirror in which all sweetness, all faith, all mysticism dwell. He does not range. He does not ornament. He knows not what he is about. He is building better than he knew, but he is the perfect mirror of all devout attitude to the external world as the footstool, the trace, the expression of God. It is the most touching of all things in literature, this piety of literature at last without taint of ambition:

"That last infirmity of noble minds."

As style in England now in writing is good breeding got into literature; perfect nature, simplicity, for the first time in history, so Mr. Very's poetry is the incarnation of all faith and modern sensibility stated without a flaw, written as winds blow and waters wave, and weave their music to our ear. Ages hence his name will be known for this one mark of sensibility and mystical literature put into perfect form.

E. A. S.

REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN WRITERS.

There are two American writers with whom he has much in common, Richard Henry Dana and Henry D. Thoreau. All three have written as Americans, comparatively uninfluenced by foreign literature, expressing what was in them, not what they had thought about in the writings of others; all three were lovers of nature—Dana in its appeals to his deep imagination, Thoreau as it stirred within him the spirit of worship. Very as it became to him the ever-present means of communion with nature's God. Dana and Very wrote their best in their early prime, and Thoreau died while yet a young man, to become famous as a distinctive American writer only when he was beyond the hearing of the praises of people whom his writings have instructed to see nature with his own eyes. Of the three, Dana and Very were men of truly spiritual understanding, while Thoreau must be called a pure naturalist, looking for immortality to nature alone, a forerunner of our modern agnostics. Very alone can be called a religious mystic, a walker with God, one who saw God in the fields, where he was always at home, and yet hardly less in his own mind and heart, in which he habitually dwelt. His three essays on epic poetry, Shakespeare and Hamlet, for freshness of insight, for original thought, for literary expression, are as marked in their way as Channing's essays on Milton, Napoleon and Fenelon, essays which first gave him fame abroad, are in a different style of writing. No man has better stated the conditions on which a new epic poem can be written; no man has better interpreted the universality of Shakespeare's mind as led and controlled by a mental activity corresponding to the impulse to physical action felt by old men; and his explanation of the character of Hamlet as exhibiting the acrosis and religious side of Shakespeare's life is not more suggestive than it is both reasonable and natural.

Three weeks or more ago he was taken ill with erysipelas, which soon broke out in a malignant form, and all saw that the end was near. His sisters patiently and tenderly nursed him to the last, and on the 8th of May all that was spiritual of Jones Very, "in the comfort of a reasonable, religious and holy hope," passed away. He was in his 67th year. Few in Salem knew him while living; few knew when he died; few will remember him; a little book of "Poems and Essays," published by Charles C. Little & James Brown, in 1839, contains all of his writings which have passed into literature, but enough has been published to keep his memory green as one of the rarest original men of letters whom America has yet produced.

A memorial meeting in honor of Rev. Jones Very was held at the Institute rooms, Salem, last evening, President Wheatland, presiding. Mr. William P. Andrews read an essay on the life and poetry of Mr. Very. Rev. George H. Hosmer read a number of letters from eminent persons, re-

ceive in response to invitations to be present. Ralph Waldo Emerson's daughter wrote that her father had, somewhere among his papers, a few notes on his intercourse with Mr. Very, which he would try to find. Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody wrote from Harvard College that Mr. Very recited to him in his freshman year, and added a tribute to his worth and works, which he thought would last with those of George Herbert and George Vaughn. Rev. Charles T. Brooks of Newport wrote that Mr. Very was a simple, pure, transparent individuality, hard to analyze, and spoke of his wonderful sonnets, than which there existed nothing finer in that special department of our language. Rev. James Freeman Clarke wrote that he had great respect for the profound and sincere religious convictions of Mr. Very, and for his genuine vein of poetry. Letters were also read from Edwin M. Stone of Providence, R. I., Rev. R. C. Waterston, Rev. George D. Wildes of New York city, Dr. William Orne White of Milton, son of Judge White, and others. Mr. Very's admirers are preparing a complete collection of his poetical works for publication.

Jones Very

It is now forty-five years since the little volume containing the essays and poems of Jones Very was given to the public, under the auspices of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The author was then hardly more than twenty-five years old, and was living in seclusion at his home in Salem, whither he had retired to recuperate his health, broken down by too diligent application to his studies in the Harvard Divinity School. Judging by what we know of the bookmaking of those days, the edition must have been small; and, although it was soon exhausted, the publishers did not feel sufficiently encouraged to incur the cost of a second. Readers of the past and present generation, as a consequence, know little of the author's work save from the selections found in the various anthologies and the allusions made to it in the writings of contemporary authors. These selections and allusions have been of such a character as to excite a strong desire among literary people to know more of him, and to see how far the praises of his admirers of that day could be relied upon in forming an exact judgment of his capabilities as a poet. That want is fortunately now supplied by the admirable little collection of Mr. Very's "Poems" compiled by William P. Andrews of Salem, and published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. It contains more than twice the number of pieces included in the earlier edition, arranged in such sequence as to show the development of the author's religious idea connectedly, the compiler's aim being rather to present that than a general view of his literary work. The adoption of this plan leaves room for a second volume, which we trust the success of the present will render possible.

Jones Very holds a distinct and sure place in American literature. Not the highest in respect to genius; not for dramatic power or imaginative fire, and not for poetical strength; but for grace of utterance and that pure spirituality which gives to much of his work the feeling of direct inspiration. And, indeed, this was exactly what the author claimed for it. He believed himself to be simply the instrument for the transmission of "messages" from a high power. In a letter to Emerson, written in 1838, he says, speaking of his essays upon Shakspearian subjects, "I am glad at last to be able to transmit what has been told me of Shakspeare—'t is but the faint echo of that which speaks to you know. * * * You hear not mine own words, but the teachings of the Holy Ghost." So intense was his belief on this point, and so constant was he in its expression, that many regarded him as of unsound mind. Those who knew him intimately, however, and were capable of rising to his own spiritual plane, took a different view. Said Channing, "Men in general have lost, or never found, this higher mind; their insanity is profound, Mr. Very's is only superficial. To hear him talk was like looking into the purely spiritual world—into truth itself. He had nothing of self-exaggeration, but seemed to have attained self-annihilation and become an oracle of God."

The nearness of the Divine presence was to him, says his biographer, the great fact of life. It was to him so intensely real and vital that it gave him inexpressible pain to find that so few were in sympathy with him. He had come up out of the grave of the senses into a condition of inward peace, the sweet patience of the Buddhist's Nirvâna. He would sit for hours, as if entranced, gazing off into the infinite, as if his soul had broken its earthly chains, and had forgotten the prison in which it had dwelt so long. This condition at one time alarmed his friends, and he was persuaded to put himself temporarily under the care of Dr. Bell at the asylum in Somerville. His treatment while there was beneficial in the extreme, and he returned home greatly improved in body and mind, though he experienced no change in theological or spiritual views. Says Mr. Andrews, "He retained to the last, though he ceased to go about promulgating it, his great idea—that every man who made the complete sacrifice of self necessary to the identification with, the hiding in, Christ would become the voice of the Holy Ghost. He believed himself to have done so. He, however, never assumed the rôle of a proselyte. His whole duty was to utter the words 'given' him; he was not responsible for their effect or non-effect on others."

The saying, "The first shall be last, and the last shall be first," seems likely to have striking illustration in the case of Mr. Very, who was one of the least conspicuous of the leaders of the Transcendental movement of half a century ago, but who left writings which are so steadily growing into recognition and favor that it seems probable that they may be better known in the next century than most, or any, of the productions of the men who eclipsed him at first. Excepting Emerson, no one of that band has so sure a hold on fame as Mr. Very,—fame that is of a quiet and gentle kind, like that which attends the memory of George Herbert. Emerson's poems will survive, and some of them will become classic. But none of his work is so perfect in form and none of it finer in quality than the best of Very's.

Full justice cannot be done to the memory of Mr. Very without recognizing the fact that he broke down in his youth from the excitement of overwork and enthusiasm, and never again recovered his power to endure the strain of great exertion, and never regained his power of free flight. At his best, his productive period, some of the finest sonnets in the English language flowed from his pen with perfect ease. In letters on the backs of his pupils' Greek exercises, whenever he was moved to address a friend to summon him to a higher ideal, one of these perfect gems of poetry was produced, cut and polished as if by magic. Then came a period of collapse. Had he died then, he would have been quickly idealized; and the poet's wreath would have been awarded to him. Like Charles Emerson, he would have been honored as a genius, in whose departure the world had lost a youth of rare promise.

When Mr. Very took his place in the world again, the bloom of that youthful promise was gone. As good work he sometimes did afterward as before; but the easy command of genius was gone, the fires burned slowly, and often the hearth was cold. Whatever gift of public speech he may have had was also checked. He had absolutely no power to control an audience. His theology was mystical. The ideas of the Spirit and the living Christ, which take such noble form in his sonnets, were attached to antiquated ideas of the kingdom of Christ on earth, and the expectation of his literal return to judge the world. The world he considered as in false relations, in all its modern progress, with the true Christianity. He therefore sadly, but patiently, withdrew from a world which he could not win nor approve. During all these years of his quiet life, he slowly composed poems, many of which are of the best he did, but many, also, commonplace and mechanical.

Many years ago, a thin volume was published, containing, with the sonnets, essays of rare merit on Epic Poetry, Shakspere, and Hamlet. When out of print, although greatly prized by a few, no publisher cared to risk another edition or a larger book. Three years ago, after his death, Mr. W. P. Andrews, of Salem, wrote a biography of Mr. Very, and made a wise selection from his poems. The publication of that volume has now made it possible to print in full his works, which come to us from Houghton, Mifflin & Co., in a volume which one no sooner sees than he wishes to possess it. It is altogether satisfactory. It carries with it, in some subtle way, an atmosphere of calm beauty; and one wishes that the gentle soul of the author might have had the pleasure its fair printed pages would have given him. For the full and fair biography written by Mr. Andrews, a brief sketch by James Freeman Clarke has been substituted; and, in place of a careful selection, everything he wrote has been printed. Perhaps it is better so. Wordsworth never wrote anything better than Very's best, and Very never wrote anything half so trivial as Wordsworth's worst. G. B.

BOOK REVIEWS

R. M. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, N.Y. (Columbia Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. viii+227. $4.50.

Consisting of six lectures delivered under the auspices of the Committee on the History of Religions of the American Council of Learned Societies, the volume includes: "The Nature of Gnosticism," "The Heavenly World," "Simon Magus and Helen, His Thought," "The Unknown Father," "From Myth to Philosophy?" and a lecture bearing the title of the book. A brief "Conclusion" precedes notes on the chapters, an up-to-date bibliography, and a useful index. Dr. Grant employs recent archaeology and historical scholarship, writes with a profound knowledge of the subject, and provides the student of Christian origins with fresh outlines of an old and still vigorous "heresy"—one that did not ignore nineteenth-century British and American literature.

Twelve Original Essays on Great American Novels, edited by Charles Shapiro. Detroit (Wayne State Univ. Press), 1958. Pp. xi+289. Paper $2.25. Cloth $5.00.

These fresh and hitherto unpublished critical essays deserve to be listed: "The Deerslayer, a Democratic Knight of the Wilderness" (by David B. Davis); "Five Acts of The Scarlet Letter" (by Malcolm Cowley); "A Re-Reading of Moby-Dick" (by Granville Hicks); "Wonder for Huckleberry Finn" (by George P. Elliott); The Red Badge of Courage (by Bernard Weisberger); "James' Ambassadors" (by Richard Chase); "Edith Wharton's The House of Mirth" (by Walter B. Rideout); "Jennie Gerhardt: The American Family and the American Dream" (by Charles Shapiro); "Winesburg, Ohio: The Purity and Cunning of Sherwood Anderson" (by Herbert Gold); "The Life of Gatsby" (by John W. Aldridge); "The Death of Love in The Sun Also Rises" (by Mark Spilka); "The Stillness of Light in August" (by Alfred Kazin). The volume is excellent for general reading, for courses in the American novel, or as a text in courses in the American survey.

Hesiod, translated by Richmond Lattimore, illustrated by Richard Wilt. Ann Arbor (Univ. of Michigan Press), [1959]. Pp. 241. $3.95.

Including the Works and Days, Theogony, the Shield of Herakles, and an important introduction on the age of Homer, the Hesiodic poems, and their craftsmanship, this beautiful volume by the professor of Greek at Bryn Mawr will bring delight to both English readers and lovers of the Greek classics for the freshness of his translation and the attractiveness of the format. Though possessed of a spirit in many respects quite different from that of the world of Romanticism, Hesiod loved the open country and the outer world, enjoyed the proverbial and sententious, and knew the "voice of Duty." For these reasons, and for others, he endeared himself to many of the Romantics (including the Transcendentalists). The present volume will cross many departments of interest.

Jerome Thale, The Novels of George Eliot. N.Y. (Columbia Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. viii+175. $3.75.

Calling George Eliot a "Victorian giant" and a "hero of energy," Thale analyzes her works, which "tell us clearly that she lived in the great age of reform, the age of the triumph of the middle class, the age of the rise of sociology, the age when faith seemed dying, dead, or about to be reborn." The chapter headings are a sufficient outline of the contents: "The Basis of Conduct: Adam Bede," "The Social View: The Mill on the Floss," "George Eliot's Fable for Her Times: Silas Marner," "The Uses of Failure: Romola," "The Politics of Self-Knowledge: Felix Holt," "The Paradox of Individualism: Middlemarch," and "The Darkened World: Daniel Deronda." In the final chapter, "Art and Vision in George Eliot," the author sees the novels as a whole and in the larger context of English fiction, including the developments of the twentieth century. The volume offers good criticism and good interpretation.

Kathleen Williams, Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise. Lawrence (Univ. of Kansas Press), 1958. Pp. vii+238. $5.00.

Miss Williams places Swift's greatest works in the political, moral, and scientific settings to which they belong, and somewhat like Theodore Wedel ("On the Philosophical Background of Gulliver's Travels," S P, XXII, no. 4, Oct., 1926, pp. 434-450) demonstrates that Swift writes with strong convinctions about the nature of man, deriving his ideas from his Christian classical heritage, but attempting to provide for his day an apologetic that would be variable enough to adjust itself to the fluctuations and compromises for which his age is well known. In other words, he stressed in his written works an apologetic rather than the dogmatic theology which lay behind it. (Wedel is still authoritative on the latter subject.) Miss Williams' conclusion is that "among the great Augustans who looked to the integral life of the past and strove to protect and to adapt what still survived against the inroads of the Enlightenment, Swift is the most indirect, most shifting, yet most inexorable, of all." She points to the "firm central purpose" of his indirections as caveat against those who would analyze the thought of individual works and neglect the whole. In Gulliver's Travels "he is successfully at grips with that problem which underlies the difficulties of politics and philosophy, science and morality, the problem of man himself, and in solving it he has produced one of the greatest, sanest, and wisest of the serious comedies of the age of compromise."

William Robbins, The Ethical Idealism of Matthew Arnold: A Study of the Nature and Sources of his

Moral and Religious Ideas. Toronto (Univ. of Toronto Press), 1959. Pp. xi+259. $3.75.

Attempting to be a healing and reconciling influence in the strife between science and religion (i.e., between naturalism and supernaturalism), Arnold (especially in The Function of Criticism at the Present Time) called for openmindedness, wariness of the strong dogmas of the extreme positions, breadth of studies in past and present, and an ethic based upon humanistic rather than upon religious sanctions. Despite his being battered by the extremists of his own day, Arnold has significance for the twentieth century, which, in a sense, faces the same problems and finds his point of view increasingly attractive. Robbins' final chapter, "A Glance at the Contemporary Scene," takes the reader into the world of T. S. Eliot, Albert Schweitzer, Toynbee, and Jacques Maritain for an apologetic of an ameliorating humanism with an ethic divorced from strong religious dogmas. This conclusion is interesting, revealing as it does the author's wide acquaintance with modern speculation. Though it will not satisfy all readers, it makes the point which the author chiefly intended to make, the fact that the position of Matthew Arnold—his warm interest in human values and his detachment from dogma—is trusted by many today as a way out of our dilemmas, and is widely believed to be an antidote to our wasteland. This book is important, therefore, as an apologetic for a broad humanism which must trace its roots at least as far back as Arnold. The author is Professor of English at the University of British Columbia.

David Levin, History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. Stanford (Stanford Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. x+260. $5.50.

The author in the preface says: "I have delineated the literary conventions that function in all these histories, and...examined the relationship between the historian's assumptions and his literary techniques. In short, I have tried here to combine literary and intellectual history with literary criticism." In doing so, he shows how organicism, enthusiasm, and optimism, interest in the "great man," the doctrine of progress, Kant's Categorical Imperative, and other romantic literary conventions operated in their works—to link them with literature and to account for their literary character. Levin has provided good notes and a useful index.

Richard Stang, The Theory of the Novel in England, 1850-1870. N.Y. (Columbia Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xii+251. $5.00.

This volume organizes a body of theoretical and practical speculation concerning the novel written in Victorian England——a corpus of unsuspected size and importance, produced by men like Roscoe, Hutton, Brimley, Bagehot and G. H. Lewes——who provided criteria with which the major novelists were familiar. One significance of periodical criticism is that it indirectly points to the fact that Dickens, George Eliot, Thackeray, Meredith, and Trollope were conscious artists "working in a form that deserved their full dedication." The great British reviews supply most of Dr. Stang's subject matter and attest once more their great importance in literary history of the nineteenth century. The bibliography (pages 225-244) is worth the price of the volume. The index is selective but useful.

Monroe Engel, The Maturity of Dickens. Cambridge (Harvard Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xii+202. $4.00.

Convinced that Dickens is one of our great English novelists and confining himself primarily to the fiction of his maturity, Engel insists "that Dickens can and should be read with pleasure and no restriction of intelligence by post-Jamesian adults," who must, of course, have an understanding of his intentions——his artistic beliefs and his social beliefs. He offers a thematic survey of the fiction prior to Dombey and Son, and then considers the mature novels in three groups: (1) those revealing the "Sense of Society"; (2) those reflecting the "Sense of Self"; and (3) those on the "Sports of Plenty." If Dr. Engel—notwithstanding his convictions—does not write convincingly, perhaps it is because he has undertaken too large a task and has given us little more than a sketch.

J. Walker McSpadden, Shakespearean Synopses: Outlines of All the Plays of Shakespeare. Revised edition with a Survey of the Elizabethan Stage, by Sue Walcutt. N.Y. (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.), [1959]. Pp. 210. $2.95.

Including a survey of Shakespeare's life, the stage, the growth of the drama, casts of characters, and a map of Shakespeare's London, this book is designed for students reading Shakespeare for the first time and desiring to see the "woods" as well as the "trees." One of many of the same sort of helps, it offers in its introduction more than most; in its synopses, rather less. It is attractively printed with a useful index of characters.

Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan. Stanford (Stanford Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. vii+223. $5.00.

The table of contents of this exhaustive history of a pervasive legend will illustrate the range and depth of this work: (1) The Don Juan Problem, (2) The Origin of the Legend, (3) Tirso de Molina's Burlador de Sevilla, (4) Molière's Festin de Pierre, (5) Don Juan in the 18th Century, (6) Mozart's Don Giovanni, (7) Hoffmann's Romantic Interpretation of the Theme, (8) The Romantic Don Juan, (9) Don Juan and Faust, (10) Miguel Mañara: The Converted Don Juan, (11) Zorrilla: The Saved Don Juan, (12) The Anti-Romantic Reaction, (13) Don Juan at the Turn of the Century, (14) The Contemporary Don Juan. There is an epilogue summing up the discussion, an extensive bibliography, a catalog of Don Juan versions, and a splendid index.

Émile Bréhier, The Philosophy of Plotinus, tr. Joseph Thomas. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press), [1958]. Pp. vii+205. $4.50.

La Philosophie de Plotin, lectures delivered at the Sorbonne in 1920-1921 and first published in France in 1928, is the definitive work on this body of thought in modern Europe. Hence the desirability of an English translation. One needs not cite the influence of Plotinus on our thinking from the time of the Italian Renaissance (Pico della Mirandola and Ficino), the seventeenth-century Cambridge Platonists, the eighteenth-century Swedenborgians and the early German Romantics—and, particularly, his central place in English Romanticism (including Transcendentalism)—to justify this and other new books on the subject. The modern editions of the Enneads since the popular Bohn Library classic would convince us of the importance of this philosophy on modern speculation, even without Dean Inge's two-volume treatise. Bréhier discusses the third century, the composition of the Enneads, the fundamental problem in the philosophy of Plotinus, "The Procession," the "Soul," "Intelligence," "The One," "The Sensible World of Matter," and Orientalism. A good working bibliography is followed by an index.

Frances Motz Boldereff, Reading Finnegans Wake: A Study of James Joyce's Masterpiece. Woodward, Pa. (Classic Nonfiction Library). Distributed by Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York. (2 parts in one volume) Pp. xiv+210+viii+283 [528 pages]. $7.50.

An impressive analysis of Joyce's novel as regards meaning, style, motifs, literary devices, symbols and historical references. Whereas the second part is a valuable glossary to Joyce's polylinguistics, the first elucidates the novel, places it in the history of Ireland, gives details of its composition, and touches on the life of its remarkable author. A ten-year research was required to produce the volume, which, Miss Boldereff remarks on the copyright page, "owes its existence to the New York Public Library," to "the Bookshop of Isei Binkin...Brooklyn 1" and to Miss Helen Elizabeth Motz. The endpapers, by Elmer E. Smith, are attractive maps of Ireland, "the Pale," Dublin, and Hibernicized medieval Europe. Chapter V. gives three "translations" in three different styles—one interpretative, one summarized, one literal. The Joyce specialist will glory in this rich treasure; the bibliographer will consider it unique in modern printing.

Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry in Sixteenth Century England. Cambridge, England (Cambridge Univ. Press); Berkeley & Los Angeles (Univ. of Calif. Press), 1959. Pp. viii+268. $5.00.

How the English Bible created for the Tudors a Christian literature, how that literature opposed the rising taste for pagan story and song, and how it expressed itself in the genres—are the subject matter of this volume, which throws light on the literary taste of students, clergy, and sophisticated readers of the upper middle class in Shakespeare's day. We have known that ninety percent of the listings in the S.T.C. are religious (sermons, catechisms, theological works, Bible commentaries and translations); this volume discusses a body of poetry and drama in English deserving critical appraisal. Just as the Wedderburn brothers in Scotland, whose Godly and Spirituall Songs substituted hymnal words for the lewd rhymes of bar-room melodies north of the Tweed, the Biblical dramatists and versifiers in England sought ways in which to combat (with Biblical help) the evils of the Renaissance. Milton marks the high point in this development. Beginning with Coverdale's Goostly Psalms (1538), Miss Campbell traces versifications of the Psalter, the so-called works of Solomon, the Divine Week of Du Bartas, and short epics about Biblical heroes, concluding Part I with a consideration of the Biblical sonnet. Part II surveys Biblical plays in English for schools, colleges, special audiences, public theatres, and the common people wherever gathered—supplementing what we have known of the influence of the continental Dramata Sacra and Terentius Christianus. Well documented and indexed, selective rather than exhaustive, it will stimulate research.

Roberto Ridolfi, The Life of Girolamo Savonarola, tr. from the Italian by Cecil Grayson. N.Y. (Alfred A. Knopf), 1959. Pp. x+326. $7.50.

Had the self-reliant Florentine succeeded in cleansing the church of his day, the long-hoped-for Reformation might have been achieved without the schisms and heresies that followed Luther. Ridolfi's biography of the noble friar is sensitively constructed upon a twenty-year research in late fifteenth-century documents, many of them either inadequately interpreted or hitherto unknown. This translation does not give the voluminous footnotes of the Italian edition, which still must be employed by the serious scholar for documentary purposes, but it has an advantage for most readers on this side of the Atlantic in providing a rapid and readable narrative of a life which is beginning to assume heroic proportions. The amount of detail Ridolfi uses in the tragic final scenes is impressive, and one lays aside the book as if he had been an eyewitness of the martyrdom of a saint amidst a background of political evil in high places. Had Savonarola been better known to New England Transcendentalists, he might have been their hero, as Luther was.

Foster Erwin Guyer, Chrétien de Troyes: Inventor of the Modern Novel. N.Y. (Bookman Associates), 1957. Pp. ix+247. $4.00.

The author gives us a popular rather than a scholarly evaluation of Chrétien, covering nearly seven centuries in his sketch. Though specialists in any of the dozen periods on which he touches might take mild or violent issue with some of his particular conclusions, the book has value for its larger framework than specialized treatises normally offer. As an attempt to awaken the average reader to a respect for the dazzling medieval

world, it will have value. Chrétien de Troyes is important. Chaucer's age knew it, and Dr. Guyer makes us aware of our debt to him.

Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, The Art of Beowulf. Berkeley & Los Angeles (Univ. of California Press), 1959. Pp. xi+283. $4.50.

Realizing that we have not yet produced a systematic appraisal of Beowulf with a thorough examination of the poet's gifts and uniqueness, the effects of his art, and the means employed to achieve them, the author offers his book as a contribution to what may require a generation to create. He demonstrates the craftsmanship of the Beowulf poet by considering the figure of "variation," deducing that he was trained as a scop, educated as a clerk, gifted with the ability to bring together the best of pagan antiquity and the new culture of Christendom to produce a work of poetic art without peer until the Age of Chaucer. Though primarily for the teacher or scholar, the book can be useful to others. The format is popular, but no concession is made to the cult of mere "appreciators." Brodeur's chapters concern diction, variation, structure and unity, setting and action, episodes and digressions, Christian and pagan, anticipation, contrast and irony. Three appendices conclude the work, which has no index.

Roger H. Garrison, The Adventure of Learning in College: An Undergraduate Guide to Productive Study. N.Y. (Harper & Brothers), [1959]. Pp. xii+270. $3.50

Written by a teacher of English at Briarcliff College, this book presents with a captivating style an account of the pitfalls, opportunities, and creative encounters which a person entering higher education may expect. It positively and encouragingly deals with the outer world of books and teachers and the developing inner world of the student, with a chapter on "The Uses of Frustration." Nothing important is overlooked—not even an honest section on "meeting parents halfway." The purpose of a college education is stated with moderated idealism as a widening of awareness. Books like this can teach fathers and mothers a great deal. We hope it will have a wide circulation.

S. K. Heninger, Jr., A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology: With Particular Reference to Elizabethan and Jacobean Literature. Durham (Duke Univ. Press), 1960. Pp. xii+269. $7.50.

Formerly an instructor in chemistry and now a member of the English Department at Duke, the author is qualified to reconstruct the scientific principles of archaic meteorology in the ordered Renaissance cosmos of the "four Elements," and then see their influences in the works of Spenser, Marlowe, Jonson, Chapman, Donne, and Shakespeare. Before dealing with the major creative writers of the period (Part III), he gives (in Part I) a background for the study of meteorology in Renaissance England and discusses (in Part II) the scientific theory and its literary paraphrase. Four appendices and an index contribute toward making the volume a small encyclopedia, indispensable for readers and editors, illustrated throughout with attractive Renaissance woodcuts and literary quotations.

Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite. Ithaca (Cornell Univ. Press), [1959]. Pp. xvii+403. $6.00.

A study in changes of sensibility regarding mountains—an exploration of the "dynamics of taste," this interestingly written and yet most scholarly book goes beyond existing studies in "Nature as norm" to account for a prepossession, motif, or passion unique in Romantic art and literature. Miss Nicholson concentrates on the sense of the Sublime in external nature, which, in England, is apparent even before Longinus began to influence criticism. The "Aesthetics of the Infinite" as discovered by the seventeenth century grew out of its "response to grandeur, vastness, majesty, a gratification in the richness, fullness, vastness of a universe man might not intellectually comprehend, which yet satisfied his unquiet soul, fed his insatiability...." The basis of this response was "laid down by Englishmen who found themselves astounded yet enthralled by infinite space." The expanding astronomical universe of the seventeenth century was followed by the geological expansion of the eighteenth, even though complicated by the Mosaic account of Creation and Deluge, the presence of shells in the mountains. Fascination with theories of an earth thrown off by the sun——a living planet in which valleys and hills might change places in eons——a planet the interior of which might be read for pre-human history——all this began to enter into the speculation on the sublime. Burnet's Sacred Theory of the Earth (1681-1684), meanwhile, attempted an enlarged apologetic for both Revelation and science—tried, if not to reconcile them at least make them friends—and continued to exert an influence down to the period of nineteenth-century Romantics, conveying throughout two centuries colorful paradoxes and antinomies attractive to literary men and stimulating an imagination delightful to the Romantic spirit. In Burnet, for the first time in England, appeared "a sharp distinction between the emotional effects of the sublime and the beautiful in external Nature" and a growing realization that certain qualities reside not so much in objects as in the "soul" of man perceiving these objects. He had, moreover, an obsession with mountains, which, in his lifetime, became sublime. Though he invited a storm of controversy in his own period and later, he became midwife to the intellectual forces that "burst old theological and scientific barriers" so that aesthetic emotions, long felt but never clearly defined, might become articulate. Because it was read along with Paradise Lost (that other popular theodicy, which both contradicted and supplemented it, which was also written in a sublime style), the Sacred Theory of the Earth gained rather than lost influence. Then pre-Romanticism in an expanding, far-travelling, questioning

eighteenth century developed the aesthetic, which passed from "Infinite God through vast Nature to the soul of man; from the soul of man through vast Nature back to Infinite God." Again, from "Infinite God to Infinite Space to vast objects in the world and back again from the 'great' in external Nature through Space and infinite or indefinite worlds to Infinite God"—such became the three-fold process of the "pleasures of the imagination." In this development, the names of John Dennis and Joseph Addison are prominent. It was then but a step to the new descriptive poetry of the nineteenth century. This book, a major contribution to Romantic origins, will enlarge our awareness of the dynamics of Romantic taste.

Alexander Gardner, Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War. N.Y. (Dover Publications), [1959]. Pp. 214 oblong quarto. 100 full-page plates. $6.00.

The reprinting in one volume of a rare two-volume work issued at the close of the Civil War (1866) and long out of print. Memorable for dozens of poignant scenes, prominent persons, and strategic battle locations, it admirably documents the War Between the States and recaptures the emotional crises which characterized that conflict. Believed to be the only photographic record published at the close of hostilities, the remarkable collection is fully annotated and indexed, providing the world of photography an example of the art hard to surpass even in our day. Students and teachers interested in Civil War topography, history, literature (especially Whitman's), and military affairs will find here a resource for exhibits. Alexander Gardner (1821-1882) was a Scotsman who came to the United States in 1856, during the following seven years working as a sort of apprentice to Mathew Brady, Lincoln's photographer.

Domenico Vittorini, The Age of Dante: A Concise History of Italian Culture. Illustrated by Fred Haucke. Syracuse (Syracuse Univ. Press), [1957]. xv+188. $6.00.

This attractive quarto volume is an illustrated history of the early Renaissance, epitomized by Dante and the Divine Comedy. It is based upon lectures delivered for many years at the University of Pennsylvania. Recognizing the inadequacies of Burckhardt's famous work in the earlier phases of the Italian movement that rocked Europe and moulded all subsequent Western thinking, Professor Vittorini has met a need in Renaissance studies—a reasonably priced textbook for students in that period. He begins with a discussion of Italian culture in the eleven, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; moves on to poetry of the popular and courtly levels; approaches Dante through his minor works, his thought, and finally his Divine Comedy; deals with prose writing in the thirteenth century; and draws conclusions. Each chapter has excellent notes, the bibliography is rich, and a careful index completes it. His pages contain twice as much printing as most books, at the same time providing large margins for notes. His book is a work of art as well as a specimen of careful scholarship.

Dagobert D. Runes, A Dictionary of Thought From My Writings and from My Evenings. N.Y. (Philosophical Library), [1959]. Pp. 152. $5.00.

Sentences, definitions, proverbs, and epigrams drawn from twenty of his volumes, arranged alphabetically by principal words or themes, this collection illustrates Emerson's power of condensation and Thoreau's love of paradox. Beggars "are not the poor but the greedy." Hate: "Whatever you love, you are its master; whatever you hate, you are its slave." "Happiness is determined by the number of people one loves." "The court poet may ride a gilded charger but never Pegasus." "It takes all the skill of steady husbandry to raise a soul to bloom; most of them lead a stunted existance and wilt before their petals open up." "Help should be given to those who deserve it, not those who can afford it." Socialism: "A government of the many at the mercy of a few." Statues: "There are too many on horseback. I would like to see more standing on the sod, at the lathe, or beside a desk." The volume is not recommended reading for those who wish to fall asleep.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution. Garden City (Doubleday & Co.), 1959. Pp. 480. $5.95.

Published on the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Origin of the Species, this biographical, historical, and philosophical account of the great discoverer and systematizer of other men's discoveries spans the period of Emerson's interest in geological and biological science. After introductory chapters on young Darwin and his voyage, the author traces the emergence of the Evolutionary Theory, discussing its progenitors, its progress and digressions, and the climates of opinion before and after it had been formally announced. Then come fascinating accounts of the controversies, religious upheavals, and social disturbances which it evoked and its ultimately being accepted. Near the end are the footnotes and bibliography. Chapter 7 (on the progenitors of the theory) surveys names familiar to Emerson while he was preparing his earliest lectures: Lamarck, Buffon, Hutton, Cuvier, and others. The endpapers map the routes of the Beagle (1831-1836).

Elinor Castle Nef, In Search of the American Tradition: Notes and Letters. N.Y. (University Publishers), [1959]. Pp. ix+253. $5.00.

The first of a series of three volumes, a kind of extended "letter to the world" written by a percipient and well-travelled American woman, is based upon notes and letters written from many residences between 1935 and 1938. A devout Christian humanist and lover of her country, she has delighted in comparing and contrasting it with other lands, in penetrating to its deepest meanings, and in noting its responsibilities to the larger world which she has come to know. Cultivated in most of the arts and possessed of a piquant style she throws light on a troubled decade.

Earl R. Wasserman, The Subtler Language: Critical Readings of Neoclassic and Romantic Poems. Baltimore, [1959]. Pp. 382. $6.00.

"The primary purpose of this book is to identify each of six poems chosen both because of their intrinsic worth and because of their service in illustrating two significantly different poetic modes." Wasserman seeks to regard these poems in their "unique wholeness" rather than as specimens of common classifications or illustrations of a "definition:" Dryden's "Epistle to Charleton," Denham's "Cooper's Hill," Pope's "Windsor Forest," and three of Shelley's--"Mont Blanc," "The Sensitive Plant," and "Adonais." In chapter one, he cites Ransom's plea for "ontological" criticism and quotes Bradley: A poem is "a world by itself, independent, complete, autonomous; and to possess it fully you must enter that world, conform to its laws, and ignore for the time the beliefs, aims, and particular conditions which belong to you in the other world of reality." Says Wasserman: "Definition and identification do not exclude each other, but, by the very nature of literature, are complementary acts and, taken together, make up the whole of the critic's business in his concern with the individual work of art." The chapters on the Neo-classic poets "examine the essentially 'lyric' forms of poetry that result from the use of publicly acknowledged conceptions of order and that achieve their end when that order has been fully engaged in the world of the poem;" those on Shelley "are analytic of forms of 'dramatic' poetry; for in his poems Shelley wove his System internally in order to produce a poetic reality that would unfold to him the further imaginative truths it implies." The first group were written with a background of shared cosmic assumptions; the second required the development of the poet's personal world picture. Good modern criticism joined with a firm knowledge of climates of opinion not our own.

Allan Nevins, The War for the Union. Volume I: The Improvised War 1861-1862. N.Y. (Charles Scribner's Sons), [1959]. Pp. x+436. $7.50.

The theme of this volume, dealing with the first year of the Civil War, is the transformation of the nation under the stress of conflict into a well-knit organization--- the preliminary phase of its ultimate emergence as a "more perfect union." Highly respectful of the "plain people" as the real heroes and heroines of the war, Nevins lucidly captures in rich detail the chaos of the opening months, the early trials of Lincoln, and his becoming a hero within a short time after a bungling start. He offers sympathetic and vivid pictures of both armies and both sides of the conflict. His style moves rapidly. The volume has illustrations, a bibliography, and appendices. It has a useful index.

Michael Kraus, The United States to 1865. Ann Arbor (Univ. of Michigan Press), [1959]. Pp. xiii+529+xi. $7.50.

Foster Rhea Dulles, The United States Since 1865. Ann Arbor (Univ. of Michigan Press), [1959]. Pp. ix+546+xix. $7.50.

Obtainable separately or together in an attractive case stamped The United States: A Modern History, these well-written and illustrated volumes, issued under the general editorship of Allan Nevins and Howard Ehrmann, interpret the American story from our "infant colonies in the wilderness" to the "challenge of Sputnik"--including the nineteenth century of Emerson and Thoreau. As part of the projected fifteen-volume University of Michigan History of the Modern World, they maintain a high standard of accuracy with beautiful formats. The first volume dramatically presents the development of an American culture often in the words of people great and small, the author recognizing that each generation must in its historical writing reshape the past in terms of its own experience. The result is inspiring, with the Civil War as the high point of the first phase of our development --as seen especially in the achievement of Abraham Lincoln. Dulles' book emphasizes the twentieth century while providing useful perspectives on the era of Reconstruction, westward expansion, and Populism. It illuminates the Progressive Era, the New Deal, and the Eisenhower Doctrine. Entering into the author's evaluations are: journalism, architecture, ideas, personalities, the motion picture, and dozens of other factors. Though necessarily the more tentative of the two volumes, it may be considered the more immediately relevant and will have an influence on all subsequent estimates of our day. There are recommendations for extensive supplementary reading and excellent indexes.

Thomas Flanagan, The Irish Novelists, 1800-1850. N.Y. (Columbia Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. ix+362. $6.75.

A searching study of Maria Edgeworth, Lady Morgan, John Banim, Gerald Griffin, and William Carleton, with an introduction on the nature and backgrounds of the Irish novel and a conclusion dealing with its significance. It bridges the gap between Irish literature of the period of Oliver Goldsmith and that of Joyce's twentieth century, taking the reader into political, ethnological, and psychological bypaths that illuminate Erin and her creative artists of the past two centuries. The volume evaluates writers now almost forgotten but popular in the lifetime of Emerson and Thoreau, and read in their families. (It ought to be remembered that Emerson was enchanted by the lyrics of George Moore and, in middle life, corresponded with the Irish poet, Allingham, at Ballyshannon.) The present work will have value on many horizons in the Romantic period.

From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad: Essays Collected in Memory of James T. Hillhouse, ed. Robert C. Rathburn and Martin Steinmann, Jr. Minneapolis (Univ. of Minnesota Press), [1958]. Pp. xii+326. $5.75.

This volume consists of critical essays on Jane Austen, Walter Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Thack-

ery, Dickens, the Brontës, Gaskell, Trollope, George Eliot, Charles Reade, George Meredith, Hardy, George Gissing, Samuel Butler, and Joseph Conrad—twenty essays each by a different contributor and never before published. The critics include David Daiches, Douglas Bush, Robert Heilman, Arthur Mizener, Gordon S. Haight, William Van O'Connor and the editors, who furnish an introductory essay on the development of the English novel in the eighteenth century, and a concluding chapter on the relationship of the nineteenth-century novel to that of our own day. Chapters are devoted to the following novels: Mansfield Park, Northanger Abbey, Redgauntlet, Bleak House, Orley Farm, Middlemarch, Christie Johnstone, One of Our Conquerors, and Born in Exile. The book is a rich resource for the student, the index being not its least important value. Professor Hillhouse, whom the compilers sought to honor before his death and who for more than forty years taught English at the University of Minnesota, died on Dec. 10, 1956.

Emerson: A Modern Anthology, ed. Alfred Kazin and Daniel Aaron. Boston (Houghton Mifflin Co.), 1959. Pp. 399. $4.00.

Drawn from his published Works, Journals, Letters, and sermons, the selections are arranged to illuminate his major themes and opinions: morning, noon, night, an original relation to the universe, a thread running through all things, friendship, sex, the great man, art and artists, American places, England, portraits, appraisals and the like. They include a section on others' opinions of Emerson, a biographical sketch, a bibliography, and an identification list of kinsmen, friends, and neighbors referred to in the volume. The thematic index is most useful. Intended as an introduction to Emerson for readers of the mid-twentieth century as well as a demonstration of his perennial freshness and pertinence to human life, this volume will assist the revival which is becoming apparent on many fronts.

Robert F. Gleckner, The Piper and the Bard: A Study of William Blake. Detroit (Wayne State Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xii+322. $7.00.

Not concerned with Blake as mystic, Romantic, madman, sociologist, painter or husband, the author concentrates on the Songs, which, in our opinion, for the first time receive close reading in an adequate frame of reference. The serious reader is invited to be aware of context—that is, to evaluate a particular poem in terms of other poems reflecting the same state of mind while recognizing its independence. Gleckner prints the Songs in Part I, provides three important critical chapters in Part II, developes Blake's principal themes in Parts III-VI, and discusses his view of prophecy in Part VII. There are two appendices, a section of notes and a good index. Even though students of Blake will differ with Gleckner in particular interpretations, they will value his insights and his chapters on the "Structure of Blake's Poetic," "The Imagination," and "Blake's Symbolic Technique." Chapter IX ("Blake's Quarrel with Swedenborg") clarifies the speculative relationship of the two men and greatly illuminates the logic of "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell." The Blake Revival will owe much to this book.

William Van O'Connor, William Faulkner. Minneapolis (Univ. of Minnesota Press), [1959]. Pp. 48. $1.00.

Third in a series of "University of Minnesota Pamphlets on American Writers," the first two of which were devoted to Hemingway and Frost, it offers a forthright critical summary, a brief biographical sketch of its subject, and a selected bibliography—a useful approach to the man and artist for an undergraduate course wherein papers are assigned. Here is much in little space with a guide to more thorough studies.

Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation. N.Y. (Alfred A. Knopf), 1959. Pp. xvi+374+xxi. $8.75.

The first of two volumes on modern Germany, the present work shows the transformation of medieval Germany under the impact of both Protestant and Roman Catholic Reformations—the period during which Germany exercised its greatest influence on Europe and received reciprocal influences. Attempting to see the larger aspects of German nationality as well as the provincial, and welcoming every opportunity to show complexity and depth in movements and decades, Professor Holborn has produced a stimulating account of the period that gave to the world a Luther and, ultimately, a Hitler. Written in excellent English and provided with wide margins and an exceptionally useful index, this must become a standard and authoritative textbook. Because it has no footnotes, the volume will also have usefulness outside the classroom as popular reading. Its sequel will be entitled Germany Since 1648, which will continue the history to 1945.

Olga W. Vickery, The Novels of William Faulkner: A Critical Interpretation. Baton Rouge (Louisiana State Univ. Press), [1959]. Pp. vii+270. $5.00.

Mrs. Vickery's approach to her subject is first to evaluate each of Faulkner's major works and then construct the "grand pattern" to which they contribute—the pattern of truth, legend, fact, time, language, and the definition of man. This volume is useful for teaching purposes because its author minimizes Faulkner's complexity and stresses the consistency and unity of his fictional world. She has rightly been praised for carefully weighing earlier criticism and for bringing it also into her overarching pattern. Useful, but not completely satisfying because it is so pat in its syntheses, it nonetheless admirably supplements Waggoner's recent volume and, in its own way, is almost as challenging to the speculative student. The index of themes, motifs, names and places has an independent value and will encourage research. The price is reasonable.

Hyatt H. Waggoner, William Faulkner: From Jefferson to the World. Lexington (Univ. of Kentucky Press), [1959]. Pp. vii+279. $5.00.

The significance of the title is explained in the final chapter: Faulkner's greatness "must rest primarily on the way he has rendered the local, the particular, and the concrete with amazing vividness while evoking the most far-reaching symbolic implications." With these latter, the author is principally concerned in his re-examination of the chief and less well-known novels. The value of Waggoner's approach lies in his large awareness of antinomies, paradoxes, multiple choices, and complexities both in Faulkner's works and in his life—and by his unwillingness to narrow interpretation to neat patterns. He sees Faulkner as an existentialist rather than as a spokesman for any particular mythology or tradition. He "breaks up and reconstitutes the conventional and expected elements and patterns and feelings of experience, imposing on us the burden of painfully fresh perception." His caveat for critics, therefore, is to avoid approaching Faulkner with preconceptions or oversimplification, for his work seems most obviously Christian when it "is least so." When it seems "even explicitly non-Christian or anti-Christian" Christian meanings may then "emerge most powerfully." Faulkner restates the "Christian myth" for modern man ethically and psychologically but not in cultic patterns. Though he may be called "orthodox" to the extent of being closer to Hawthorne's view of man rather than Emerson's, he is not defined more precisely. Waggoner admits that Faulkner's personal philosophy emerges in the Yoknapatawpha saga, but he insists upon considering the novels apart from their creator, thereby encouraging readers and critics to see Truth, as we must see truth in human life, as richly paradoxical and inexhaustible. In its original form, Chapter 11 appeared in The Tragic Vision and the Christian Faith.

Robert Boies Sharpe, Irony in the Drama: An Essay on Impersonation, Shock, and Catharsis. Chapel Hill (Univ. of North Carolina Press), [1959]. Pp. xv+222. $5.00.

The author first defines drama as impersonation—"not a stasis but a functioning," irony being the result of "impersonation within impersonation." He then discusses levels of impersonation, forms of irony in drama, Shakespeare as ironist, the cathartic process, shock in both tragedy and comedy, and modern trends in both. He treats his subject somewhat loosely, repetitiously, and lyrically, but always interestingly. He might have said everything more effectively in one half the space, but it might then have lacked something of the personal note which, as literary adviser to the Carolina Playmakers for many years, he has injected. His old students will, doubtless, love the book as it stands, treasuring both its idiom and stylistic idiosyncracies.

New Letters to the Tatler and Spectator, ed. Richmond Bond. Austin (Univ. of Texas Press), [1959]. Pp. xii+232. $5.00.

In Spectator No. 619 we read: "I have often thought, that if the several Letters, which are written to me under the Character of SPECTATOR, and which I have not made use of, were published in a Volume, they would not be an unentertaining Collection." Ninety-six appear in print for the first time in the present collection, competently edited with an index. Such new light on the 18th century will be welcomed by specialists, for whom, doubtless, the book is intended, but the flavor and scope of the correspondence—so like that of the original Tatler and Spectator—makes it charming for everyone. All kinds of subjects abound: women's petticoats, free thinking, the state lottery, smoking females, cock-throwing, Platonic love, and social conditions. The facsimiles appearing in the endpapers invite the reader to enter the volume for entertainment and surprise. As letters in a period of letter-writing, they will also prove useful in several departments of scholarship.

John Playfair, Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth. [Originally pub. in Edinburgh, 1802]. A facsimile reprint with introd. by George W. White. Urbana (Univ. of Illinois Press), 1956. Pp. xix+528. $4.50.

Anyone who works with Emerson's early sources—especially in the department of the sciences—knows how difficult it sometimes is to locate the exact edition —and how difficult to examine it under advantageous conditions. The Bhagavadgita which Emerson used has recently appeared in facsimile, but none of his science texts. The present volume, therefore, is exciting to the Emersonian because it supplies us with an attractive photographic reproduction of an important book which Emerson consulted and praised during the period of his "early lectures" and on the eve of the publication of Nature. (See Emerson the Essayist, I, 341, and Letters, I, 404.) Professor White's introduction places both Playfair and Hutton in the history of science, sketches their lives, and instructs us in geological bibliography. The work is monumental, being inter alia a testimony of what a remarkable service a single scientist can sometimes render the work of another. Because the full impact of Playfair's Works on students of Atlantic-seaboard schools 150 years ago remains to be assessed, the reappearance of this volume will suggest to scientists and literary scholars the possibility of writing new chapters in their several disciplines. The price is remarkably low.

Miriam Allott, Novelists on the Novel. N.Y. (Columbia University Press) & London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1959. Pp. xv+336. $4.75.

This book attempts to cover what dozens of novelists, both major and minor, have said about the practice of their art—answers to such questions as what the novel is, what the novelists' principal problems are, how time is to be manipulated, how characters are to be made real, and how dialogue is to be handled for maximum effect. There

are many volumes that attempt to deal with these matters, but this one is unique in both the number and quality of those offering testimony—creative men and women from both continents over the last three centuries. After a preface dealing with the nature of prose fiction, in part one Miss Allott (University of Liverpool) groups her specialists and their pronouncements under these headings: The Novel and the Marvellous, The Novel as a Portrait of Life, and The Ethics of the Novel. In part two, after another preface—this one on the genesis of the novel—she continues with the following departments: The Novelist's Approach and Equipment, Germination, The Novelist at Work: Effort and Inspiration. Part three begins with an introduction to the craft of fiction and marshals expert opinion under these headings: Structural Problems, Narrative Technique, Characterization, Dialogue, Background and Style. Her acknowledgments come at the end, near a most useful index of authors and titles. Here is God's plenty—an ideal text for courses in the history of the novel, for creative writing seminars, or for the American or English surveys.

Literature as a Fine Art, ed. Donald J. McGinn and George Howerton. Evanston & White Plains (Row, Peterson and Co.), [1959]. Pp. xiv+413. $6.50.

This beautiful volume groups its poetry, prose and dramatic selections under the following headings: The Renaissance, Mannerism, The Baroque, the Rococo, Romanticism, Realism and Naturalism, Impressionism, and Expressionism—offering through attractive photographs and plates examples of the fine arts correlative with literature in each department. The printing, paper, de luxe margins, bibliographies and index make the volume itself a work of art and worthy of the interest of bibliophiles. Though obviously designed for courses in literature, it seems designed for an unusual seminar, conducted without the pressures, paraphernalia, examinations and registration procedures of the ivy-league. It belongs in a College of Silence and Slow Time, wherein one may neglect meals and clocks. The price is unusually low.

Jay B. Hubbell, The South in American Literature: 1607-1900. Durham (Duke University Press), 1954. [Second Printing, 1959]. Pp. xix+987. $10.00.

This new-standard history of Southern literature has no peer in its field and can be compared only with such a work as the Literary History of the United States, which preceded it by one year. This it both supplements and, in its special chapters, surpasses, in critical and bibliographical importance. The E S Q desires to call attention to the many references to Emerson throughout the volume and especially to an important short chapter (pages 375-385) which might have been entitled, "Emerson's Inaccurate Views of the South, and Southern Critical Opinion Concerning Him." It begins as follows: "I trust that no admirer of...Emerson...will think me lacking in appreciation for one of the wisest and greatest American writers because I have chosen him to illustrate the extent to which sectional controversy prevented the New England writers from understanding the ante-bellum South. This, I am thoroughly aware, is to present Emerson at his worst. At the same time, although my story ends on a note of reconciliation, Southern critics of Emerson seem more lacking in insight than they were when they discussed the work of writers from New York and Pennsylvania." This volume is judicious, rich, and authoritative.

Alfred Owen Aldridge, Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine. Phila. & N.Y. (J. B. Lippincott Co.) [1959]. Pp. 348. $6.00

Based upon extensive researches in England, France, and the United States, this first life of Paine in the twentieth century is a gripping study of a man of remarkable energies and powers, whose genius was widely recognized but never adequately rewarded. "He served in America as a soldier, diplomat, and journalist; in France, as a legislator and constitution-maker; then became in both countries, as well as in his native England, a symbol of the rights of man and the struggle for democracy. In a third great revolution—that of theology—he became the most notorious champion of deism the world has known, and is still a symbol of the rationalistic spirit of his age. Though born of the people, his manners rough and ungracious, Paine was consulted by presidents in America, caressed by the rich and titled in Europe; and alternately loved and hated by the simple folk to whom he devoted his tireless intellectual energies .... He became one of the foremost bridge engineers of his time...he developed a vigorous literary style which influenced the political and religious ideas of millions.... His contribution to the propaganda of [the American] Revolution equalled that of Franklin to its diplomacy and that of Washington to its military strategy." Aldridge omits none of the fascinating sides of his hero. He gives his sources in the notes. His index is rich.

From Homer to Joyce: A Study Guide to Thirty-six Great Books, by J. Sherwood Weber, Jules Alan Wein, Arthur Waldhorn, and Arthur Zieger. N.Y. (Henry Holt & Co.), [1959]. Pp. viii+275. $1.95. (A Holt-Dryden Paperback).

For each of the masterpieces considered, the authors provide an introductory background essay, a list of core questions, a selective and annotated bibliography of critical materials, and a critical list of inexpensive translations and editions—— The Iliad, Odyssey, Oresteia, the Theban Plays, Alcestis, Medea, Hippolytus, The Republic, Nichomachean Ethics, the Bible, On the Nature of Things, the Aeneid, the Divine Comedy, the Canterbury Tales, The Prince, Gargantua and Pantagruel, Montaigne's Essays, Hamlet, King Lear, Don Quixote, Tartuffe, The Miser, the Misanthrope, Paradise Lost, Gulliver's Travels, Candide, Faust, The Scarlet Letter, Moby Dick, Madame Bovary, Crime and Punishment, War and Peace, Huckleberry Finn, The Wasteland, and Ulysses. This is the best of a number of such guidebooks.

Horace M. Kallen, The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy with an Essay. Introd. by George Foote Moore. N.Y. (Hill and Wang), [1959]. A Dramabook paperback. Pp. xxvi+163. $1.25. Available also in cloth: $3.50.

Herbert Howarth, The Irish Writers, 1880-1940. N.Y. (Hill and Wang), [1959]. A Dramabook paperback. Pp. x+338. $1.95. Available in cloth: $4.50.

Conceiving the Biblical story of Job as a Greek tragedy after the manner of Euripides, with a folk-tale prologue and epilogue added partly to fit it into the Hebrew canon of scripture, Kallen's essay and preface offer valuable insights into the Joban character of our modern thinking, for Job and Faust are related, and both are relevant. The text of the drama is printed as verse with occasional stage directions.

Howarth's subjects are George A. Moore, Isabella A. Gregory, William Butler Yeats, AE (George William Russell), John Millington Synge, and James Joyce. An introductory chapter ("A Myth and a Movement") and a conclusion ("Irish and English") round out the volume and provide useful backgrounds. The index is excellent.

Charles Feidelson, Jr., Symbolism and American Literature. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press), [1959]. Phoenix Book—A Paperback. Pp. x+356. $1.85.

R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press), [1959]. Phoenix Book—A Paperback. Pp. vi+201. $1.35.

The Renaissance Philosophy of Man: Petrarca, Valla, Ficino, Pico, Pomponazzi, Vives. Selections in translation, ed. Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, John H. Randall, Jr. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press), [1959]. Phoenix Book—A Paperback. Pp. vi+405. $1.75.

Nathan Glazer, American Judaism. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press), [1959]. Chicago History of American Civilization Series—Paperback. Pp. xi+176. $1.75.

John Tracy Ellis, American Catholicism. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press), [1959]. Chicago History of American Civilization Series—Paperback. Pp. xiii+208. $1.75.

The first two—already classics of American literary criticism—were carefully reviewed as hard-cover books in an earlier issue of the E S Q. We list them here because they are now within the price range of every student of American literature and should be employed as texts in all good courses. The third, issued originally in 1945, is a useful anthology for students of the English or Italian Renaissance. (Pico "On the Dignity of Man" is alone worth the price of the volume.) The last two are penetrating histories of important American religious patterns. They emphasize 19th-century struggles and, therefore, become documents of value in American cultural history while Transcendentalism was in flower. Each has excellent notes, bibliography, and index. Chicago and Michigan University presses lead all others in the beauty and academic worth of their paperbacks.

Voltaire: A Laurel Reader, ed. Edmund Fuller. N.Y. (Dell Pub. Co.), [1959]. Pp. 383. 50 cents.

Mark Twain: A Laurel Reader, ed. Edmund Fuller. N.Y. (Dell Pub. Co.), [1958]. Pp. 382. 50 cents.

Robert Louis Stevenson: A Laurel Reader, ed. with introd. by David Daiches. N.Y. (Dell Pub. Co.), [1959]. Pp. 383. 50 cents.

Guy de Maupassant: A Laurel Reader, ed. Francis Steegmuller. N.Y. (Dell Pub. Co.), [1959]. Pp. 320. 50 cents.

Emerson: A Modern Anthology, ed. Alfred Kazin and Daniel Aaron. N.Y. (Dell Pub. Co.), [1958]. Pp. 383. 50 cents.

These superbly printed little paperback volumes offer excellent value for the college student. Imagine having all the shorter works of Voltaire in one volume! The best of Twain's shorter works, including "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences"! Essays, short stories, poems, an unfinished novel, and selections from Treasure Island, Kidnapped and The Master of Ballantrae by Stevenson! Pierre et Jean complete, an essay on the novel, and eleven short stories by Maupassant! The paperback anthology of Emerson is reviewed elsewhere in this number as a hard-cover book issued by Houghton Mifflin. Nowhere will fifty cents buy so much.

The Song of Roland, tr. C. K. Scott Moncrieff, with an introd. by G. K. Chesterton and a note on technique by George Saintsbury. Ann Arbor (Univ. of Michigan Press), [1959]. Paperback. Pp. x+139. $1.65.

Austin Warren, Rage for Order: Essays in Criticism. Ann Arbor (Univ. of Michigan Press), [1959]. Paperback. Pp. v+165. $1.75.

John Donne, Devotions upon Emergent Occasions together with Death's Duel. Ann Arbor (Univ. of Michigan Press), [1959]. Paperback. Pp. li+189. $1.65.

Sir Arthur Eddington, New Pathways in Science. Ann Arbor (Univ. of Michigan Press), [1959]. Paperback. Pp. x+333. $1.95.

These new volumes in the now-famous Ann Arbor Paperbacks series will chiefly interest the teaching profession, but they will be sought after by graduate students and undergraduates alike. The first is a translation in racy pentameter lines of the early French classic, with just enough of the antique flavor to enchant a modern reader. Line numbers have been added. The second has already established itself as significant criticism of Ed-

ward Taylor, Herbert, Pope, Hopkins, Yeats, Hawthorne, Kafka, Forster, and Henry James. The print is large; the margins are generous; and an index makes for easy reference. The third is prefaced by Izaak Walton's "Life of Dr. John Donne," which places the two works in their proper setting. Use of this volume will convince the reader that Donne the Poet and Donne the Priest are not as separable as is supposed. At a time when the philosophy of science is pervasive, Eddington's book—one of the first popularly to announce the decline of determinism and the rise of indeterminacy (as a corollary of the Quantum Theory in physics)—will enjoy a wide popularity in this format. The cost of each is remarkably low.

The Bible Read as Literature: An Anthology, comp. and ed. Mary Esson Reid. Cleveland (Howard Allen, Inc.), [1959]. Pp. x+375. $5.00.

Divided into two parts—the first, "The Scholar's Bible"—the second, "The General Reader's Bible"—the work is a collection of essays about the Book of Books rather than an anthology of Holy Writ. Among the specialists contributing to part one are: H. St. J. Hart, Kirsopp Lake, William O. E. Oesterley, and Theodore H. Robinson, Wilbur O. Sypherd, and George Philip Krapp; to part two: Sir Philip Sidney, George Wither, Milton, Herder, Whitman, Francis Thompson, Saintsbury, Powys, Tolstoi, Henry T. Fowler, and William Lyon Phelps. C. S. Lewis concludes the work with a chapter on "The Literary Impact of the Authorized Version." Appendices include a section on "Further Reading," an identification list of the contributors, and a short index. The attractive format—in no way suggestive of a crowded Bible or a conventional approach—has the college classroom for its destination.

Richard M. Dorson, American Folklore. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press), [1959]. Pp. xi+329. $4.50.

One of the series entitled "The Chicago History of American Civilization," edited by Daniel J. Boorstin, it distinguishes between genuine folklore and the body of "fakelore" which is commonly classified under that heading in our popular media. Then follow rich chapters on Colonial folklore, the rise of native folk humor, regional folk culture, immigrant folklore, Negro folklore, and the modern area in which Emerson and Thoreau manifested a lifelong interest. Appendices include a "Last Word" on the subject, important dates, bibliographical notes, a valuable table of motifs and tale types, based upon the first edition of Stith Thompson's valuable Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. It has a useful index. The first colonists brought with them the folk traditions of England, but the American setting created new trends and led to a native folk humor which displaced the lore of divine providences, of the Indians, and of witchcraft. Then began the period of tall stories and regional heroes. Dorson shows interest in five regions of folk culture: German Pennsylvania, the Ozarks, Spanish New Mexico, Mormon Utah, and the Yankee Maine Coast. A good handbook for beginners, the volume will prove useful in college courses in popular literature.

R. C. Bald, Donne and the Drurys. Cambridge (the Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. x+176. $5.50. [American Branch is located at 32 East 57th St., N.Y. 22.]

The principal persons in this study, exclusive of John Donne, are Sir Robert Drury and his wife, who emerge clearly from the mass of family papers owned by the University of Chicago and whose intimate relationship with the poet are now for the first time fully recorded. Donne wrote a Funerall Elegie on their daughter, accompanied them to the Continent, lived as their tenant and was a trustee in the settlement of their estate. Professor Bald's compact volume supplies hundreds of new facts for evaluating Donne the man and for creating a picture of the life of the Jacobean gentry—their angling for great place, their management of properties, their suits at law, their relations with the clergy, and their philosophy of life. The book is well indexed.

Sources of our Liberties: Documentary Origins of Individual Liberties in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights. Ed. Richard L. Perry and John C. Cooper. Produced by the American Bar Association. Distributed by Associated College Presses, 32 Washington Place, N.Y. 3, and New York Univ. Press. [c. 1959]. Pp. xxii+456. $5.00.

This important volume brings together under one cover the thirty-two major historic documents constituting the legal sources of our individual liberties, beginning with Magna Carta (1215) and continuing through the first ten amendments to the Constitution (1791). Each is preceded by a searching discussion of its historic background and long-range pertinence, and the volume is provided throughout with marginal analyses or summaries and concluded by a useful index—in all, a beautiful example of printing as well as a memorable work of reference. Among the earliest papers are: the "Confirmatio Cartarum" (1297), "The First Charter of Virginia" (1606), "Ordinances for Virginia" (1618), "Mayflower Compact" (1620), the "Petition of Right" (1628), "The Charter of Massachusetts Bay" (1629), "The Charter of Maryland" (1632), the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut" (1639) and the "Abolition of the Star Chamber" (1641). The cost is unbelievably low.

New Light on Dr. Johnson: Essays on the Occasion of his 250th Birthday, ed. Frederick W. Hilles. New Haven (Yale Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xii+348. $6.00.

The contributors to this volume are members of "The Johnsonians"—a group of admirers which, since 1946, has met annually in or near New York. Half the book consists of essays and commentaries never before published; the remainder, of rare pamphlets (for the most part privately printed) which have been buried for many years—tracts which (to quote Johnson himself) are "a very important part of an English library." The reader encounters discussions of Johnson the poet, playwright, lexicographer, bibliographer, and literary critic. There are parodies on Johnson's manner of talking, writing, and criticizing. We have glimpses of Johnson with Ben-

jamin Franklin and other significant personalities. The age again comes to life as does its central figure. The student of the eighteenth century will wish to own the volume for its scope and index. The mind and heart of Johnson still satisfy man's need for an enduring and deepening friendship.

Stephen Crane: Letters, ed. R. W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes. Introd. by R. W. Stallman. N.Y. (New York Univ. Press), 1960. Pp. xxxi+366. $6.50.

Since letters often explain a man better than studies of his style or his works, this book, perhaps for the first time, will reveal the essential Crane in his purposes, moods, and enthusiasms. All his extant correspondence is included here along with a selection of letters to him or about him, and the editorial notes are thorough and illuminating. The love affair between Stephen and "Cora Crane" can now be documented. His friendship with Joseph Conrad acquires new importance. The remarkable index will be a blessing to students, whose studies henceforth can adequately link Crane with the principal American literary currents of the turn of the century. The new documents will be useful in a dozen directions. The format is excellent.

John Manning, Dickens on Education. Toronto (Univ. of Toronto Press), [1959]. Pp. x+251. $5.50.

Since education is everybody's business and since there is a corner in most hearts for some of Dickens' novels, this book will have something for everyone interested in the nineteenth century. Drawing upon Dickens' fiction, public addresses, magazine articles and personal letters—and reconstructing the history of Dickens' own schooling—Dr. Manning analyzes nearly fifty public and private schools (and as many teachers) which emerge from his sources. We see Victorian England at its books—under the supervision of the Church, charity agencies, and private enterprises. We learn of the treatment of girls as well as boys. And we are introduced to educational theory as well as practice—all discussed against a backdrop of British legislation, the reports of government commissions, and the utterances of Romantic idealists. Since Dickens as a conscious reformer of public evils placed education in the zenith, this long-overdue study will meet a long-standing need. The bibliography and index are excellent.

Osborn Andreas, Joseph Conrad: A Study in Non-conformity. N.Y. (Philosophical Library), [1959]. Pp. 212. $3.75.

Those who remember the teachability of Andreas' Henry James and the Expanding Horizon with its thematic approach to the canon of its subject will welcome this new work on Conrad and on the basic tensions which they illustrate—a neurosis somewhat characteristic of our own mid-twentieth century. The masterpieces are severally examined, and a concluding chapter relates the themes to Conrad himself. "Conrad was a non-conformist not only to the revolutionary traditions of his father's family but also to the conciliatory traditions of his mother's people.... Unwilling either to live peaceably under the rule of his parents' murderers or to take part in recurrent and futile Polish rebellions, he chose instead to shake the dust of Poland from his feet, to break all ties with the people among whom he had been born and raised, and to take up the life of a sailor on all the oceans of the earth.... His life as a separate individual, 'estranged' from his own people, began under clouds of disapproval so dark that they started in him a lifetime of meditation on the subject of non-conformity." If the study may seem an oversimplification of Conrad's mind and art, it is nonetheless provocative and, to the adolescent student who comes to Conrad's classics for the first time, rich, pertinent, and meaningful.

Literatures of the East: A Survey, ed. Eric B. Ceadel. Introd. by A. J. Arberry. N.Y. (Grove Press), [1959]. Pp. xiii+194. Paperback. $1.75.

Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Thought. By Winnicott, Bowlby, Hellman, Milner, Money-Kyrle et al. Introd. by Sylvia Payne. Ed. John D. Sutherland. N.Y. (Grove Press), [1958]. Pp. 149. Paperback. $1.45.

Matthew G. Lewis, The Monk. Original text, variant readings, and "A Note on the Text" by Louis F. Peck. Introd. by John Berryman. N.Y. (Grove Press), [1959]. Pp. 445. Paperback. $2.45.

Walt Whitman's Poems. Selections with Critical Aids, ed. Gay Wilson Allen and Charles T. Davis. N.Y. (Grove Press), [1959]. Pp. xi+280. Paperback. $1.95.

These four "Evergreen" titles—the first an original; the others reprints—are typical of the bargains in this series available to teachers. Literatures of the East discusses the classics of the ancient Hebrew, Arabic, Iranian, Persian, Indian, Chinese and Japanese literatures, giving important bibliographies to encourage the Western student to independent reading. It is a revision of a collection of essays delivered at Cambridge University. Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Thought contains chapters on the sense of guilt, child care, the teacher, art, philosophy and even the current economic crisis. At the end the reader comes upon the analysis of a character trait of Freud. The edition of The Monk is remarkable for its completeness and usefulness as a text. A facsimile of the title page of the original edition serves as frontispiece. Berryman's introduction discusses the novel, its author, and its influence. Then follow a note on the text, a preface, a table of the poetry, and the three volumes —all, of course, under one cover. Two appendices conclude the work. Walt Whitman's Poems is still to be tested in the classroom. Much already has been said in favor of approaching Whitman in the modern manner without stressing biography. This volume attempts to do so and may help the Whitman cause in our day.

J. B. Bury, The Ancient Greek Historians. N.Y. (Dover Publications), [1958]. Paperback. Pp.

r+281. $1.50.

J. B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I. to the Death of Justinian. (2 vols.), N.Y. (Dover Publications), [1958]. Paperbacks. Pp. xxv+471 and ix+494. $2.00 each.

These well-printed, documented and indexed historical classics—unabridged, with wide margins, and on good paper—are monuments to the achievement of the paperback industry and characteristic of a rich series of books on history and culture currently published by Dover Publications. The bibliographies in these classics are worth triple the list price of the volumes, which are sewed to open and lie flat.

Peter D. Arnott, An Introduction to the Greek Theatre. Foreword by H. D. F. Kitto. London (Macmillan); N.Y. (St. Martin's Press), 1959. Pp. xvi+240. $5.00.

Designed to assist readers of ancient Greek drama by describing the background and conventions against which they were written, this beautifully illustrated book draws heavily upon the work of scholars and archaeologists to remove the atmosphere of strangeness from plays belonging to a theatre different from our own "drama of illusion." Kitto says in the preface: "In so far as a book can do it, this one will...take [us] out of our own time and place, out of our theatrical conventions, and set [us] down in Athens, in the Theatre of Dionysus...and in the Greek sunshine." Arnott chooses for description and analysis four Greek plays, each typical of its class—and one Roman. (These he himself has produced, and he takes us behind the scenes for performances or spectacles as first given to the world. The work is of use to the technician, the specialist, the amateur, or Mr. Average Reader. The index is helpful.

Dante's Purgatorio: With a Translation into English Triple Rhyme by Laurence Binyon. Pp. vii+395

Dante's Inferno: With a Translation into English Triple Rhyme by Laurence Binyon. Pp. ix+401.

Dante's Paradiso: With a Translation into English Triple Rhyme by Laurence Binyon. Pp. vii+395.

London (Macmillan); N.Y. (St. Martin's Press), 1952.

"The aim of the translator throughout...has been less to achieve a literal fidelity to the text than to communicate something of Dante's tone and spirit through the rhythm and movement of the verse. Above all, it has been his desire to produce a version that could be read with pleasure as an English poem. The English translation is printed opposite the Italian text." Many of us learned Italian with the help of the prose Dante (with Italian opposite) in the little Temple Classics edition, published by Dent at the turn of the century. Binyon seeks to give us a less useful work on this score, but a far more satisfying one for the lover of literature. Here are three inexpensive treasures.

Marius Bewley, The Eccentric Design: Form in the Classic American Novel. N.Y. (Columbia Univ. Press) 1949. Pp. 327. $4.00

What are the qualities of great American fiction which constitute its essential Americanness? Bewley interests himself in something deeper than topography, local coloring, national customs and patriotic necessities—in political tensions dominant in the formative years of the nation—tensions arising, on the one hand, from regal republicanism, financial aristocracy or the genteel tradition, and, on the other, from the liberal faith of Jefferson. These conflicts of political philosophies created an intellectual and emotional climate which consciously and unconsciously writers of American fiction have expressed in their works, creating a heritage clearly observable today. Bewley's chapters concentrate on the novels of Fenimore Cooper, the stories and novels of Hawthorne, Melville, Henry James and Scott Fitzgerald. He has appendices on Hamilton's financial reforms, on the Genteel Tradition, and on the International Novel. There are useful notes and an index.

Faulkner in the University. Class Conferences at the University of Virginia, 1957-1958, ed. Frederick L. Gwynn and Joseph L. Blotner. Charlottesville (Univ. of Virginia Press), 1959. Pp. xi+295. $6.00.

The present book has both an immediate and a long-run value, only the former of which we can indicate here. These transcripts of thirty-six question-and-answer sessions with Faulkner, selected from 40,000 feet of tape (still happily preserved) serve first of all to introduce the novelist to our generation outside the medium through which he is principally known. (One thinks, in this connection, of the successful "fireside chats" of the late President Roosevelt—a notable innovation when begun during the last War.) In the second place, these transcripts convey much new light on characters and situations in Faulkner's fiction. He is here at his ease, is obviously interested in his academic audiences, and is seemingly happy to deal with the creative process in so sympathetic and appreciative a setting. In the third place, these transcripts suggest the importance of tape recorders for literary purposes on other fronts. Here is the new Boswell, doubtless, which, with the disc, we must perfect and make preservable, if we are to capture for biography and criticism many perishable nuances, clues, and explications. One wishes that such a tape had survived from the days of Emerson, Thoreau, Lincoln, Keats, or Emily Dickinson—not because they have in any essential respect failed, in their art or lives, to speak out, but rather because they have become important enough to us to make us desire more. Though the ultimate value of the unabridged tape of the Faulkner sessions—and other tapes—cannot yet be determined, the present volume illustrates a new biographical venture with infinite possibilities. (One thinks of the sealed trunks of literary papers deposited in the Harvard Archives in Eliot's student days and what they may contain when opened and inventoried!) We owe the editors thanks for giving us so much that might have been lost of Faulkner's opinion and self-criticism. Incidentally, the

photograph of the novelist at a reading desk—employed as frontispiece—is striking.

Fannie Gross, Shakespeare Quiz Book: 2000 Questions and Answers on all Shakespeare's Plays. N.Y. (Thos. Y. Crowell Co.), [1959]. Pp. viii+215. $2.95.

The questions have been prepared to interest lovers of the plays in rereading them for facts they may have missed in earlier acquaintance. For many years, Mrs. Gross published quizzes on authors in the Saturday Review "Literary I. Q." columns, out of which this volume has grown. The employment of such an aid can bring back old times when family groups read novels and dramas around the open fire and found their principal entertainment in discussing them. If you belong to a small circle of book lovers, this volume can bring you pleasure through vigorous discussion.

William Ellery Channing, Unitarian Christianity and Other Essays, ed. with introd. by Irving H. Bartlett. N.Y. (Liberal Arts Press), [1957]. Paper. Pp. xxxii+121. 80 cents. Cloth: $2.75.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte, The Vocation of Man, ed. with an introd. by Roderick M. Chisholm. N.Y. (Liberal Arts Press), [1956]. Paper. Pp. xvii+154. 75 cents.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Reason in History: A General Introduction to the Philosophy of History, tr. with introd. by Robert S. Hartman. N.Y. (Liberal Arts Press), [1954]. Paper. 75 cents. Cloth: $2.75.

These three titles will attract the student of English and American Romanticism, particularly those interested in the Transcendentalists. In the first, Channing's famous Baltimore Sermon is only one of five important essays presented in a new dress and with critical remarks on the man and his influence. In the second, Fichte takes the reader "from the world of sense into a region beyond it" in a treatise representative of one extreme form of German Transcendentalism. As for the third, Emerson and Whitman have been so often classified as disciples of Hegel that Reason in History may be employed to confirm or deny the indebtedness. These little volumes from the "Library of Liberal Arts" and "The American Heritage Series" can be put to excellent use as texts in graduate seminars.

Richard B. Sewall, The Vision of Tragedy. New Haven (Yale Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xii+178. $4.00.

In February, 1953, The C E A Critic (volume XV, no 2) carried an article by Professor Sewall (then at Geneva, Switzerland) entitled "The Yale 'Vertical' Course in Tragedy"—a description of a course in a literary type established in the Yale English Department for its advanced students shortly after the last war. Many of us—your reviewer for one—clipped and used it for its perspectives and insights, because it traced "tragedy" from its beginnings through the Greek drama, through the period of the Renaissance, into the novel of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The volume before us is another product of the same course and an offshoot of Tragic Themes in Western Literature, edited by Cleanth Brooks and published in New Haven in 1955. Sewall's chapters concern the Vision of Tragedy, the Book of Job, Oedipus the King, the Tragic Form, Tragedy in Christianity, Doctor Faustus, King Lear, Tragedy in the Modern World, The Scarlet Letter, Moby-Dick, The Brothers Karamazov, Dostoevski to Faulkner, and Absalom, Absalom! There are notes, references, and an index. Readers who valued the course outline in the C E A Critic will not wish to miss this important expansion and improvement.

Ralph Mehlin Williams, Poet, Painter, and Parson: The Life of John Dyer. N.Y. (Bookman Associates), [1956]. Pp. 151. $4.00.

All students of the eighteenth century owe Dr. Williams thanks for this modern biography of Dyer, based upon untiring research in all parts of England and an awareness that solitary facts when brought together in a pattern can illuminate an age. Trained under Chauncy Brewster Tinker at Yale, he moves easily in the massive scholarship of the ages of Queen Anne and Samuel Johnson, and the present study of a colorful and many-sided creative personality will cross dozens of lines of special research. Students of education, sociology, Anglicanism, eighteenth-century esthetics, and painting—to name only a few—will profitably employ its splendid index and rich documentation. It is reassuring to know that England, in this period, could produce a Parson Dyer and a Parson Adams as well as a Parson Trulliber. Dyer is an example of the poet-priest much commoner in the seventeenth century than in either Swift's day or in the heyday of Romanticism, when clerical poetry—when it existed—tended to lurk among the tombs. Professor Williams writes with restraint, allows the facts to speak largely for themselves, points out areas of our continuing ignorance, invites new information, and avoids guessing where clear demonstration is impossible. His book, therefore, is eminently useful. The reproductions of Dyer's paintings add a new dimension to our thinking about the author of "Grongar Hill."

Forerunners of Darwin: 1745-1859, ed. Bentley Glass, Owsei Temkin, and William L. Strauss, Jr., under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins History of Ideas Club. Baltimore (Johns Hopkins Press), [1959]. Pp. vi+471. $6.50.

Issued on the centennial of the publication of the Origin of Species, the volume is a collection of essays by distinguished names—among them Arthur O. Lovejoy—on Evolutionary Theory of the 18th and early 19th centuries and concerns itself with men whom Emerson studied during the period of his early lectures: to name only a few—Buffon, Herder, Lamarck. The biological and geological sciences are principally stressed, and the book is richly documented and indexed. (Emerson is cited once.) Among the fifteen chapters are: "Fossils and Early Cosmology," "Maupertuis, Pioneer of Genetics and Evolution," "Kant and Evolution," "Fossils

and the Idea of a Process of Time in Natural History," "The Idea of Descent in Post-Romantic German Biology," and "Schopenhauer as an Evolutionist."

Walt Whitman: An 1855-56 Notebook Toward the Second Edition of Leaves of Grass. Introd. and notes by Harold W. Blodgett. Foreword by Charles E. Feinberg. Additional notes by William White. Carbondale (Southern Illinois Univ. Press), [1959]. Ltd. ed., signed by Charles E. Feinberg. Pp. 43. $8.50.

This Whitman notebook, owned by the well-known collector whose signature appears in each copy, is attractively edited with facsimiles and significant notes. Mr. Feinberg understates its importance when he writes: "Gradually the picture of a magnificent idler, 'loafing and inviting his soul,' is being replaced by the factual truth of a poet constantly working hard to bring to its final expression what he considered to be his finished poem—his 'spinal idea.'" In this little volume are lines for poems of the second edition, especially "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," as well as jottings for lectures, notes of reference, names and addresses, and the famous salute of Emerson which Whitman placed on the backstrip of the 1856 Leaves. The Whitman scholar will know how to value this little treasure. The college or university library should order it at once before the small edition is exhausted.

Harold Bloom, Shelley's Mythmaking. New Haven (Yale Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. 279. $5.00.

This volume presents a long-overdue defence of Shelley's poetry in terms which modern critics can appreciate—even if the "new critical" wing should continue agnostic or disdainful. Bloom begins with Martin Buber's observations on the "Mythopoeic Mode", adopting his distinction between the I-Thou relationship as distinguished from the I-It. (One must read the introductory chapter carefully for a modern statement of the dialectic which accounts for the profound significance of Nature among the English and American Romantics and which can illuminate the poetry of others beside Shelley—Whitman, for example.) Mr. Bloom then fruitfully applies his theory of Shelley's myth-making to the 1816 Hymns, "Prometheus Unbound," "Ode to the West Wind," "The Sensitive Plant," "The Witch of Atlas," "Epipsychidion," and "The Triumph of Life." He shows how Blake stands with Shelley as a mythopoeic poet and asserts that Yeats derives from them both. The application of this theory gives depth and richness to these poems.

Jeremy Ingalls, These Islands Also. Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, Japan (Charles E. Tuttle Co.), [1959]. Pp. 49. $2.25.

This is the second title which we have reviewed of the beautiful "books to span East and West" which have given their publisher distinction in the craft of printing and in the promotion of international and intercultural goodwill. Ingalls is a poet who has recently completed a three-year residence in Japan as Fulbright Professor of American Literature. She as attempted to dramatize the Japan which she has known and come to love—a Japan with a past and a present which impinge upon a sensitive American consciousness—simultaneously:

NEIGHBORS

Anyone can be from anywhere
On a train, off a train in Japan.
In Japan very often suddenly comes
Rain
Very much, very often.

Not very tall she was, not to my shoulder,
Okāsan, gray kimono. Off a train.
Rain-drench. Open platform. Suddenly over
Mere me
Her vast umbrella.

NAGASAKI

We are taking down the shattered wall,
The cathedral of Urakami,
This island's Glastonbury
Charred, not weathered,
Erupted, not worn.
In the over-exposed film
There is a flare of light around this wall.
The cross is still there though,
The cross
and the hill.

Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., Athens in the Age of Pericles. Norman (Univ. of Oklahoma Press), [1959]. Pp. xi+166. $2.75. (Centers of Civilization Series).

The author, professor of classics at Brown University, gives us a panorama in fifty thousand words and in seven chapters: (1) Strife, Faith, and Liberality; (2) The Strength of the Democracy; (3) An Imperial Democracy; (4) Art and Thought; (5) Life; (6) War; (7) The Future. He offers an excellent selected bibliography, a good index, and a reference map of ancient Greece. Gilbert Highet of Columbia and C. Bradford Welles of Yale read his manuscript and gave criticism before publication. A better short handbook is hard to come by.

Mysticism and the Modern Mind, ed. Alfred P. Stiernotte. N.Y. (Liberal Arts Press), [1959]. Pp. xiv+206. $4.50.

As a symposium rather than an anthology, it deals with important aspects of a subject of increasing interest to the mid-twentieth century. There are chapters on "Mysticism and A. N. Whitehead," "Mysticism and Naturalistic-Humanism," "Mysticism and Ethics," "Mysticism and the Limits of Communication," "Mysticism and Existentialism," and "Some Aspects of Ontological and Ethical Mysticism in Indian Thought." Bibliography and index are excellent. Of principal interest to our readers will be Lester Mondale's "The Practical Mysticism of Ralph Waldo Emerson"—an able and sympathetic study which surpasses the many written by incredulous and skeptical commentators of the past three decades. Perhaps it is one of many indications of a long-overdue Emerson revival. Mondale characterizes Emerson's mysticism as

being "not of the trance variety, but more in the form of a worldly daily habit of spectator contemplation which became a lifelong practice. The result was neither the extreme of exultation, mystic union with oblivion, nor the prolonged spells of mystic aridity, but rather an amazingly sustained serenity that merited the adjective, beatific." He does not altogether blame Emerson or his 19th-century terminology for the misunderstanding that prevails in our day: "The difficulty of apprehension lies also with the reader, and particularly so in what a future age may well describe as the tragic flaw in the logic of our reasoning which all but excludes the intuitive." He blames our era for the "naive assumption" that "the whole is always equal to the sum of its parts, and that to grasp the whole...is no more than a matter of investigating all the facts of the constituent parts." He concludes on what seems to us the right note: "Any study of this most American of Americans, this greatest of our dreamers and seers of vision, which mines to the living veins, to the metal of which his theoretical speculations are the dense penumbra, will find there the rich quartz of his strike. The student, moreover, will have before him the splendid Emerson himself, exemplifying what this species of practical mysticism can mean...in physical health, effective social rapport, aliveness to the supremacy and significance of the here and now...literary creativity, sympathetic humor, the cultivation of an authentic sense of at-homeness among men and in the universe, genuine self-realization, together with a lively sense of a vast, benevolent and ever-alluring potentiality at every turn of life's Chaucerian pilgrimage to some as-yet-to-be descried holy place."

Studies in American Culture: Dominant Ideas and Images, ed. Joseph J. Kwiat and Mary C. Turpie. Minneapolis (Univ. of Minnesota Press), [1960]. Pp. viii+238. $4.75.

The contributors—all now or formerly associated with the American Studies program at the University of Minnesota—assess its values and possibilities or provide chapters on aspects of American thought or aesthetic expression. The first study asks, "Can 'American Studies' Develop a Method?'" The last, by Spiller, views the program in terms of the past, present and future. The thirteen intervening papers provide rich fare: "How Americans See Themselves," "The Meaning of Lindberg's Flight," "Oneida's Challenge to American Culture," "The Man with the Hoe and the Good Machine," "The Novel and the 'Truth' about America," "Literature and Covert Culture," "A Southern Mode of Imagination," "The Vernacular Tradition in American Literature," "Henry Adams and the Culture of Science," "Dreiser and Veblen and the Literature of Cultural Change," "Robert Henri and the Emerson-Whitman Tradition," "Singing Immigrants and Pioneers," and "The 'Theonomous Analysis' of American Culture." Emerson and Thoreau are frequently mentioned.

Walter Clyde Curry, Shakespeare's Philosophic Patterns, (2nd ed.) Baton Rouge (Louisiana State Univ. Press), [1959]. Pp. xiv+261. $5.00.

The reprint of a "classic" that appeared in 1937, but this time with a useful index which will serve students in many research departments of the Renaissance. No one interested in the influence of Plato, Neo-Platonism, Scholasticism, the occult, or the history of magic on the 16th century in general, or on Shakespeare in particular, will fail to consult this work by a noted medievalist whose studies principally in Chaucer and in medieval science are now famous.

Gesta Romanorum: or, Entertaining Moral Stories invented by the Monks as a Fireside Recreation, and Commonly Applied in their Discourses from the Pulpit. Tr. from the Latin with notes by Charles Swan. Revised and corrected by Wynnard Hooper. N.Y. (Dover Publications), [1958]. Pp. lxv+425. $1.85. Paperback.

Ambrose Bierce, The Devil's Dictionary. N.Y. (Dover Publications), [1958]. Pp. 145. $1.00 Paper.

The first of these remarkable reprints is an unaltered and unabridged republication of the Bohn Library edition of 1876. As one of the most popular story books or collections of exempla produced by the Middle Ages, it is a work of delight as well as of necessary reference, and no study of the medieval sermon, homily or fabliau, or fable can disregard it. In both medieval and Renaissance studies this body of 181 tales is as important as the Decameron, and the scholar will rejoice to have it once more available in a well-edited and inexpensive format. The second contains (according to H. L. Mencken) "the most gorgeous witticisms in the English language". It is a resource for both the cynical and the acute. The poetic "quotations" are as priceless as Lewis Carroll's.

William R. Hutchison, The Transcendental Ministers: Church Reform in the New England Renaissance. New Haven (Yale Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xvii+240. $4.50

Beginning with the purpose "to find out what the members of the Concord group did and said as Christian ministers, and also to re-assess the traditional account of the controversy in which they became involved," the author interests himself in seventeen clergymen, ten of whom remained all their lives in the clerical profession. Though important in many ways in what Hutchison sees to be an attempt to reform Unitarianism from within, Emerson is here lightly sketched and given an inadequate bibliography. Actually, he cannot fit into the pattern too neatly and, therefore, must suffer in such an all-inclusive plan. That he had a profound influence upon modern Unitarianism—and that modern Unitarianism claims him as its most important son—is well known, but he exercised his influence unconsciously and ab extra as a kind of heretic. Though the volume is attractive and will be useful, the Emerson scholar will be disappointed.

Morris Weitz, Problems in Aesthetics: An Introductory Book of Readings. N.Y. (Macmillan), [1959]. Pp. ix+697. $6.90.

Most useful for the general reader or for the student in college courses dealing with any of the arts, Weitz' volume draws upon an array of authorities from Plato to Blackmur, whose critical essays are arranged in six divisions: "What Is Art?" "Basic Concepts and Problems." "The Arts Severally Considered." "Tragedy and the Problem of Genres." "The Problem of Response to Art." "Criticism". The format is excellent, the margins invite notations, and the cost is low.

William Hickling Prescott: A Memorial, ed. Howard F. Cline, C. Harvey Gardiner, and Charles Gibson. Durham (Duke Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. 179. $3.00.

Written for the centenary of Prescott's death and first published as number 1 of volume XXXIX of the Hispanic American Historical Review, this cloth-bound edition will deservedly reach a public beyond the circulation of the periodical and command a place on the Prescott shelf of most libraries. As a historian who "met the demands both of scholarship and of literature," Prescott has had an influence upon the writing of modern history, which is recognized in this memorial. The principal studies are B. A. Humphrey's "The Man and the Historian," David Levin's "History as Romantic Art: Structure, Characterization, and Style in The Conquest of Mexico," Villena's "Notes on Prescott's Interpretation of the Conquest of Peru," and C. Harvey Gardiner's "Prescott's Most Indispensable Aide: Parsenal de Gayangos." A checklist of Prescott manuscripts is contributed by J. E. Patterson. The last half of the volume is given over to early book reviews. There is no index.

Howard Schultz, Milton and Forbidden Knowledge. N.Y. (Modern Language Assn), 1955. Pp. vii+309. $5.00.

The author surveys some of the controversies of Milton's day—in education, philosophy, theology, and politics—"to the end that we may hear divinity preach...sobriety...where grave occasions warranted the sermon...and especially where it helped to shape Milton's thought." "Sobriety" is defined by Wither's paraphrase of St. Paul's rule about not being wise in one's own conceit:

> Above thy knowledge do not rise,
> But, with sobriety, be wise.

Schultz' theme is "the bifurcated sin of dubious speculation (curiosity) on the one hand and corrupted learning (vain philosophy) on the other." The anti-curiosity sermon was the protective shield of humanism and of the traditional theology. Donne in his pulpit discourses forbade only certain questions on doctrine, exonerating secular learning entirely except for sorcery and necromancy. (He himself, however, read in the occult and magic, but all clergy did not share his liberty.) Schultz brings a vast speculative literature of the 16th and 17th centuries to bear upon Milton. In a sense, he points to the significance of apologetics and homiletics for this period much as Owst has done for the sermons of the middle ages. His impressive learning is apparent in each chapter, in the excellent notes, and in the useful index.

Ruth C. Wallerstein, Richard Crashaw: A Study in Style and Poetic Development. Madison (Univ. of Wisconsin Press), 1959. Pp. 160. $4.00 cloth. $1.25 paper.

This work first appeared in 1935 as number 37 in the University's Studies in Language and Literature and has been reprinted because of demand. It is "a sensitive and imaginative reconstruction of Crashaw's inner life and an informed and discriminating survey of the rhetorical theories that inspired the major influences...on his growth as an artist." In some respects, it anticipated our current interest in the poetic achievement of the 17th century, providing us when first published, as it still does, with a list of Crashaw's primary sources and a detailed account of his creative work.

Norman St. John-Stevas, Walter Bagehot: A Study of his Life and Thought together with a Selection from his Political Writings. Bloomington (Indiana Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xvi+485. $7.50.

Indispensable as a study in Victorian literary and political criticism, this work brings together much old and new knowledge concerning a major figure of whom Woodrow Wilson wrote: "It would be a most agreeable good fortune to introduce Bagehot to men who have not read him. To ask your friend to know B. is like inviting him to seek pleasure." Though our generation has not forgotten many of his essays (thanks to the Everyman Library), we are not sufficiently aware of an important stylist who wrote in an age of important stylists. Here we have chronological tables, a remarkable bibliography and a large index. Some of Bagehot's political writings, now difficult of access, are here made available. The man emerges from the shadows, as it were, to make us aware that the 19th century is still largely unexplored and unevaluated. In many respects, as this study shows, Bagehot's works are a key to the Victorian age.

M. A. Goldberg, Smollett and the Scottish School: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Thought. Albuquerque (Univ. of New Mexico Press), [1959]. Pp. xiii +191. $3.00.

Students of fiction as aesthetic form and of culture history in the 18th century will welcome this fresh approach to a major novelist, who is shown to reflect in his personal thinking the views of the Scottish Common-sense School of moral philosophers, who sought a realistic solution to the many conflicts prevalent throughout the ages of Pope and Johnson: Tories vs. Whigs, Neo-Classicism vs. Romanticism, rationalists vs. empiricists, rationalists vs. intuitionalists, believers in rules vs. believers in spontaneity. Smollett's novels are seen as stones in a recognizable architectural pattern. "The opposition of reason and

passion is examined in Roderick Random; Art is juxtaposed with nature in Ferdinand Count Fathom; imagination, with judgment in Peregrine Pickle; benevolence, with self-love in Sir Launcelot Greaves. And the core of Humphrey Clinker is detected in conflict between primitivism and the idea of progress." The work has a good selected bibliography but no index.

William Strunk, Jr., The Elements of Style. Revised with an Introd. and a new chapter by E. B. White. N.Y. (Macmillan), [1959]. Pp. xv+71. $2.50. (A paperback edition is also available for students.)

A little treasure for the writer on any level and especially an antidote against the loose writing of undergraduates, this book has been tested by a competent teacher in the classroom and issued for the instruction of the world. Of the dozens of suggestions made for tightening style and giving vertebration to thought, any one of them can help a writer make significant gains in emphasis and coherence. Professional writers will find it a survey of the wisdom of generations; many teachers will find it the ideal handbook for writing classes on any level. It has a dogmatic quality which opposes the current "levels of usage" philosophy—that opposes the sloppy or "Beatnik" prose permitted in so many schools today. Like Sam Johnson's literary criticism, it hath foundations, which, if accepted and built upon, will make Strunk's advice useful and rewarding.

Robert M. Davies, The Humanism of Paul Elmer More. N.Y. (Bookman Associates), [1958]. Pp. 222. $5.00. (Bookman Monograph Series).

The flowering of the "New Humanism" in the early decades of the 20th century—notably in the lives and writings of Irving Babbitt and More—deserves frequent reappraisal because we are only now beginning to see how much we are indebted to it (in the work of T. S. Eliot, Chesterton, Belloc, C. S. Lewis and others) and how far its apprehensions about drifts in the American way of life were justified. Its principal targets were: (1) science insofar as science undermined a view of man that included both natural and supernatural planes; (2) Romanticism, which was interpreted as "literary naturalism;" and (3) humanitarianism, which was an application of Romanticism to sociology—justifying man's irresponsibility for his acts and thereby eliminating the will of God. In fact, humanitarianism was regarded as "religion without God." The "New Humanists" were economically conservative, believing in values in the ownership of property and suspecting all socialistic schemes or movements like what later became the "New Deal." More shared these with the other members of his group. The present volume deals especially with his distinctive contribution and with the foundation he placed beneath this platform—his own variety of religious orthodoxy; his deep interest in the classics of Greece and Rome as deterrents of Bacon, Rousseau and Darwin in our schools; and, in the Shelburne Essays, his applied critical theory. The book deals with More's Platonism, his Platonic Christianity, and other aspects of his thought, providing excellent notes, bibliographies and an index. A notable work which can provide both the historian of literature and the student of religion in the 20th century with important bearings.

William R. Mueller, Spenser's Critics: Changing Currents in Literary Taste. Syracuse (Syracuse Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. x+256. $7.50.

This is an anthology of criticism, beginning with John Hughes' Remarks (1715) and extending through W. B. C. Watkins' "The Kingdom of Our Language" (1949). Actually, earlier criticism appears in the excellent "Brief History of Spenser Criticism" contributed by the editor, who points out how different climates of opinion react to Spenser's Faerie Queene chiefly on four topics: (1) poetic technique, language and verse form; (2) the structure or lack of structure in the epic; (3) the allegory—whether it be excrescent or organic to the poet's work; and (4) the total effect of the epic—"whether it be principally that of a picture gallery or that of a book of conduct with serious moral intention." Among the recent critics included in the volume are: James Russell Lowell, Edward Dowden, Edwin A. Greenlaw, W. L. Renwick, Charles G. Osgood, B. E. C. Davis, and C. S. Lewis. The volume offers good reading and necessary reference, even though no index has been supplied.

Joseph E. Duncan, The Revival of Metaphysical Poetry: The History of a Style, 1800 to the Present. Minneapolis (Univ. of Minnesota Press), [1959]. Pp. v+287. $4.50.

After examining the 17th-century view of metaphysical poetry, Prof. Duncan traces the genre throughout the 19th century (with significant notices of Emerson, Thoreau and Dickinson) through Browning, Hopkins, Yeats, Eliot, Wallace Stevens, and others. This history from the beginnings of the revival in America through the period of the "Catholic Revival" and into the Revival of 1872-1912 supplies a link between the Victorian world and that of Edward Taylor, who, by the say, is not mentioned. The final chapter, "The Metaphysical Florescence," begins with Stevens; dealing with the fugitives, Elinor Wylie, Herbert Read, Edith Sitwell, and William Empson. Excellent notes, bibliography and index appear as appendices.

Studies in the Early English Periodical, ed. Richmond P. Bond. Chapel Hill (Univ. of North Carolina Press), [1957]. Pp. 206. $5.00.

A symposium of six well-documented studies in periodical publishing between 1700 and 1760, contributed by R. W. Achurch, W. F. Belcher, Nicholas Joost, W. O. S. Sutherland, Jr., James Hodges, and George P. Winship, Jr. The editor has provided the introduction. The journals discussed are the British Apollo, Free-Thinker, Prompter, Female Spectator, and the World. There is a wealth of information supplementary to what we have already known

about the better-known Tatler, Spectator and Guardian—on printing conditions, reading public, sale and distribution, and authorship. The useful index makes the volume an important work of reference.

Margaret Brackenbury Crook, The Cruel God: Job's Search for the Meaning of Suffering. Boston (Beacon Press), [1959]. Pp. xv+222. $3.50.

"Guided by the clue that the author [of the Book of Job] is an educator working among his students in something like a graduate seminar...free to manipulate characters drawn from the old story of the patient Job to meet the needs of his own day...we can sense a certain restiveness over long-drawn-out cycles of debate among members of his circle; we can sympathize with their urgent question, 'Where shall Wisdom be found?' and with their insistence that Job and God must confront each other." So writes Dr. Crook in her introduction, which invites us to see the subject in light of archaeological discovery as well as social institutions of the world that gave birth to our present biblical text. Though much that she writes will be familiar to scholars, the layman will find it all exciting and fresh—the student of literature especially.

Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity. Boston (Beacon Press), [1958]. Pp. xviii+302. $6.00.

For the first time in English we have a detailed and highly useful analysis of the literature, symbolic language, creeds and soteriological systems of the principal heresy of the ancient world at the time Christianity was consolidating its folkway and thought pattern. Based upon a monumental German work, this volume brings to the student of literature, theology, ancient and modern history, and even archaeology, a dependable outline and well-translated documents. Part I. deals with the literature, main tenets and symbolic language. Part II. surveys the principal Gnostic systems, beginning with Simon Magus and treating Marcion, Hermes Trismegistus, Valintinus and Mani. Part III. discusses "Gnosticism and the Classical Mind"—of great use to the student of the classics and of western literature. A good index and an excellent bibliography conclude the work, which for reference or general reading on this subject will be indispensable.

Milton Wilson, Shelley's Later Poetry: A Study of his Prophetic Imagination. N.Y. (Columbia Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. vi+332. $6.00.

"Using Prometheus Unbound as its organizing center, this book describes the materials and traces the unfinished argument of Shelley's poetry in his Italian period. But more is attempted than simply an exposition of meaning. The form of Shelley's argument and the nature of his figures of speech imply a theory of poetry and reveal the way his imagination worked. The book as a whole demonstrates the importance of that theory and tries to justify the activity of a prophetic imagination." There is much in this volume on his Platonism, his susceptibility to architectural imagery, and his psychology. It has good notes, bibliography and index. Professor Wilson teaches at Trinity College in the University of Toronto.

J. Mitchell Morse, The Sympathetic Alien: James Joyce and Catholicism. N.Y. (New York Univ. Press) 1959. Pp. xi+169. $4.00.

The epithet in the title is Joyce's own. "In [his] world it is the Church which is cold, pragmatic and opportunistic; the creative, anti-ecclesiastical individual who lives by principle; and though in the struggle...the Church wins outwardly, the individual becomes godlike by asserting the best that is in him, by saying against all odds, 'I am.'" The latest of several recent books on Joyce and his relationship to the orthodox religion of his youth, this one enlarges by a slight degree his sonship in a family that has known many rebellious children, not all of whom have been excommunicated. Though the author does not cite Athanasius against the world, he interprets Joyce in somewhat positive terms, making the alienation seem a service both to the Church and to art, and drawing upon St. Augustine, John Scotus Erigena, William of Ockham, Aquinas, and Ignatius Loyola for his interpretation or justification of Joyce and his theories. As might be expected, the work throws light upon the final portion of the Portrait of the Artist and is not unsympathetic with the Church. This approach marks an improvement over studies less aware of the complexity in Joyce's relationship to the ecclesiastical mother of his childhood and adolescence.

Charles Ryskamp, William Cowper of the Inner Temple, Esq. A Study of his Life and Works to the Year 1768. Cambridge (Cambridge Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. xviii+275. $5.50.

Ending where most biographies of Cowper begin to supply a detailed narrative, the present study adds new facts and accurately documents what can be known of the earliest years, dissolving many old wives' tales about the "stricken deer." It supplies new information about his life at Westminster School and in the Temple, his literary and political friendships of this period, his engagement, his clerkship in the House of Lords, his insanity, and his relations with Mrs. Unwin. The appendices supply new letters and essays (1750-1767), nine poems, five of Cowper's early reviews, and notes on his relatives and friends. Ryskamp has given us a good index, the the Press has prepared an attractive format, reproducing on the jacket Cowper's coat of arms, taken from his bookplate.

Anthony Blunt, The Art of William Blake. N.Y. (Columbia Univ. Press), 1959. Pp. ix+122. $6.95.

Number 12 in the series of "Bampton Lectures," this historical and critical work (with 152 reproductions that span Blake's period of productivity) will stimulate studies in both the poet and the ar-

tist and in their interrelations. Blake's imaginative power, his picturesque rebellion against the world of his day, and his contribution to 19th-century Romanticism make him important in more fields than one and in more centuries than his own. The author, an English art critic, deals with Blake's early years, his awareness of the "sublime," his vision, his execution of it in his paintings and illuminated books, the significance of his illustrations to the Bible and to Milton, the "Last Phase—Jerusalem, the Book of Job, and Dante. Four appendices: "The Meaning of Pitt and Nelson," "Subjects of Biblical Paintings Executed by Blake for Thomas Butts," the excellent reproductions, and a bibliography. A good index.

Milton Bruce Byrd and Arnold L. Goldsmith, Publication Guide for Literary and Linguistic Scholars. Detroit (Wayne State Univ. Press), 1958. Pp. xiii+146. $1.95.

A boon to scholars who encourage publication among their better students and to graduate students who seek to place their maiden articles, this "guide" analyzes the principal periodicals in the field of literature, linguistics, and belles lettres, tells what they expect in form and documentation and what the contributor may expect in responses or in offprints. The E S Q (pages 40-41), for example, is listed as "interested in 19th century American lit., Transcendentalism, American Renaissance, including Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Whitman." It carries book reviews and accepts articles in the culture history of the 19th century on either side of the Atlantic. Its approach: "Critical studies, source studies, bibliographical studies." Ms. length: 1000-2000 words; also short notes. It does not consistently or preferably follow the MLA Style Sheet, actually preferring that of the University of Chicago. Footnotes are desirable. Manuscript data and other details: "One copy with return postage and addressed envelope. No letter about article or author. Neither précis nor outline in advance. Unsolicited mss. welcome. No remuneration. 3 free reprints;" others at cost. Disposition of Manuscripts: "Receipt of ms. acknowledged. Editorial decision 'almost immediately.' Pub. 6-8 mos. Criticism of rejected mss. 'usually given.'" The foregoing will give some idea of the useful information in this long-awaited handbook.

Norman Kiell, The Adolescent Through Fiction: A Psychological Approach. N.Y. (International Universities Press), [1959]. Pp. 345. $5.00.

Weaving fifty-four selections from modern novels and short stories into perceptive chapters on the principal aspects of his subject, the author accepts Freud's view that "storytellers are valuable allies and their testimony is to be rated high, for they usually know many things between heaven and earth that our academic wisdom does not even dream of. In psychological insights, indeed, they are far ahead of us ordinary people, because they draw from sources that have not yet been accessible to science." The scope of this "intuitional" book is suggested by the chapter headings: physical development, developing equilibrium, getting along socially, the meaning of sex, family relations, cultural conflicts, learning, choosing a career, and becoming an adult. Four rich bibliographical appendices have great reference value: "The Novel of Adolescence," "Psychology and Literature," "Textbooks on Adolescence," and "List of Fictional Excerpts." A superb index crowns the work, which will be useful to sociologists, psychologists, counsellors, religionists, and instructors in creative writing.

Dante's "Vita Nuova," tr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. and annotated by J. Chesley Mathews. Chapel Hill (Univ. of N. C. Press), 1960. Pp. xiii+145. With plates. $7.00.

Professor Rusk's discovery in 1941 of Emerson's manuscript translation (1843) of Dante's work prepared the way for another chapter on his indebtedness to the Italian language and literature by Dr. Mathews, who in this new book (partly a reprinting from H L B of 1957) has given us a well-documented and significant study. Emerson's Italian text was the Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri (Florence, 1576), a gift from George Bancroft, in 1857, and passed on by Emerson to Samuel Gray Ward. (It survives in the Houghton Library.) Professor Mathews performs every office of a good editor—in this bound volume greatly augmenting his earlier annotation. Though it would have been necessarily brief, we could wish only that he had included an index of people, places, and titles, so that scholars might not have to read through such a specialized study to spot a name or an article. As for the merits of Emerson's translation, we quote (page viii): "It is noteworthy that [he] studied Italian by himself; undertook the translation at all; and aimed at an exact, literal translation into prose. Even more noteworthy, however, is the success of the venture. There are, to be sure, frequent awkwardnesses and inaccuracies, caused partly by Emerson's own imperfect knowledge of Italian, and partly by the very inadequate edition of the original that he largely depended on. But Emerson was a poet, and transcending all defects, informing the whole, there burns the searching, vital fire that marks his own compositions, in prose or verse. In many passages the very simplicity and directness of his 'ruggedest grammar English' convey, because of his general sense of language and his special sympathy for the subject matter, the unique form and spirit of Dante's work more tellingly than the studied, and conventionalized, 'standard' versions."

R. W. B. Lewis, The Picaresque Saint: Representative Figures in Contemporary Fiction. Phila. & N.Y. (J. B. Lippincott Co.), 1959. Pp. 317. $6.00.

Seeking the characteristics of the "composite protagonist" in the works of six representative authors of our time (Moravia, Silone, Camus, Faulkner, Malraux, and Graham Greene), Lewis finds in them a reaction against the preoccupation with death and the death wish, observable in fiction during the early decades of the 20th century. While fully acknowledging the tragic scheme of things,

these creative artists see a light beyond—emergent values in the human scene that predict, if they do not in a measure already entertain, some kind of a future. Their fiction is, therefore, charged with a vitality and muted hopefulness hitherto conspicuous by its absence in writers like Joyce, Thomas Mann, and Hardy—their themes being sexual, intellectual, and religious. "The figure I am calling the picaresque saint," writes Lewis in his important first chapter, "tries to hold in balance...by the very contradictions of his character, both the observed truths of contemporary experience and the vital aspiration to transcend them." He is "the logical hero of our paradoxical age," who has "a touch of roguery" about him, "sometimes a touch of criminality; the more roguery, I dare say, the more representative." Lewis does not predict how permanent he will be, but he has "helped make it possible for fiction itself to endure."

Randall Stewart, American Literature and Christian Doctrine. Baton Rouge (Louisiana State Univ. Press) [1958]. Pp. xiii+155. $3.50.

Frederick A. Pottle in his famous statement of "critical relativism" (The Idiom of Poetry, 2nd ed., p. 205) says: "We ought to be able to be interested in craftsmanship considered purely as such.... And those values are the specifically literary ones; the ones, that is, that distinguish literary criticism from other activities of the mind. But there are other values that a serious mind must consider, and other loyalties more important than that to art. For art...is experience, and man as a moral being is surely under the necessity of subjecting all his experiences to moral evaluation." He states elsewhere that one may be a critical relativist in his approach to literature but an absolutist committed to fixed dogmas in his religious life. The principal value of Hoxie Neale Fairchild's studies of Religious Trends in English Poetry lies in his strong central position in the Judeo-Christian tradition—a position which enables him clearly to differentiate moral and teleological values in the areas with which he deals. (See his The Major English Romantic Poets, reviewed in an earlier issue.) Randall Stewart has a reputation as a scholar and critic. He also happens to be an orthodox Christian, and in that capacity only, in the present volume, looks over American writing of the past and present, testing it against the central or traditional Judeo-Christian views of God, Man, Nature, and "Original Sin," the last of which is to be carefully distinguished from what the Calvinists called "Total Depravity." He tests religious ideas in the literature produced by Edwards, Paine, Jefferson, Franklin, Emerson, Whitman, Hawthorne, Dreiser, Melville, James, Eliot, Tate, Warren and Faulkner—a long line even for a specialist in American literature. He would probably be the first to admit that he has only a superficial knowledge of some of the figures with whom he deals and that his book is essentially a "how I see them" rather than "what they actually may be" kind of scholarly writing, such as he has given us in his splendid works on Hawthorne. His critics should remember this distinction while considering the differentia he attempts to set up between orthodoxy and heterodoxy—again considered subjectively. He essentially affirms what his fellow-churchmen (Pottle, Fairchild and T. S. Eliot) have stressed—that most literature requires a "mixed response"—an aesthetic judgment and a moral one. The book invites discussion. It will be misused, misquoted and misunderstood. If we were inclined to be "on the defensive" (and we are not) we should cry, "He doesn't know Emerson very profoundly——the real Emerson—whom even orthodox Roman Catholics can now see positively." We do think he will profit by reading Carl F. Strauch's illuminating article on pages 2-9 in this issue. Emerson can no longer be dismissed with the old clichés.

Three Studies in the Renaissance: Sidney, Jonson, Milton. New Haven (Yale Univ. Press), 1958. Pp. 283. $6.00.

The volume consists essentially of three Yale dissertations—all spanning the high Renaissance in England and written under the direction of Prof. Louis Martz: (1) Richard B. Young, "English Petrarke: A Study of Sidney's Astrophel and Stella;" (2) W. Todd Furniss, "Ben Jonson's Masques;" and (3) William G. Madsen, "The Idea of Nature in Milton's Poetry." Young gives Elizabethan sonnets—Sidney's in particular—a richer setting and a profounder analysis than they have hitherto enjoyed, adducing much historical, psychological and literary wisdom and illuminating 16th-century conventions. Furniss approaches Jonson's masques as important creative efforts, heightening Jonson's significance through this minor genre. He places them in the framework of the pastoral and other traditions and views them within the baroque sensibility. Madsen's study of the idea of nature necessarily concerns itself with the two remaining terms of the trilogy—God and Man. From Comus as a study in the conflict between Christian and libertine concepts, he passes to Paradise Lost with its views of the universe and its distinction between essence and existence. He concludes with a penetrating discussion of Milton's poetic vision.

EMERSON'S LECTURE SCHEDULES IN DANBURY, CONNECTICUT

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Though apparently no one has suspected that Emerson ever lectured before small lyceums in Connecticut—there being no clue in his published Journals and Letters—he twice engaged with the officials of the Lyceum at Danbury—then an hour and a half from New Haven and a little less from Bridgeport—to speak in what he hoped might be a series of engagements in the area of one of the larger towns. All the surviving evidence is in the Danbury Times, which, on November 15, 1856, released the Lyceum's 1856-1857 roster of "distinguished

gentlemen...already engaged" over the signatures of J. Marshall Guion, President, and Lyman D. Brewster, Corresponding Secretary and, doubtless, the negotiator with Emerson:[1]

George W. Bethune	Brooklyn, N.Y.
John Pierpont	Williamsburgh, N.Y.
Prof. W. S. Clark	Amherst, Mass.
Thomas Starr King	Boston, Mass.
Richard S. Storrs	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Wendell Phillips	Boston, Mass.
Theodore Parker	Boston, Mass.
Ralph Waldo Emerson	Concord, Mass.

An editorial, published a week later,[2] revealed the eagerness of a small town desirous of cultural advantages:

DANBURY LYCEUM--LECTURES. As an instance of unparalled longevity in the history of Literary Associations in this town, we believe the Danbury Lyceum has entered on the third year of its eventual existence, still in vigorous health. Whether this tenacity of life is owing to the anti-dissolvent material of its membership or that it has enjoyed the sunshine of public patronage and favor to a greater extent than any of its predecessors, we shall leave others to decide. But while the result may not be independent of either cause, it is sufficient for us to know that the "venerable" institution still lives, and is inspired with the determination yet to make its mark upon the literary history of the town--in a quiet way.

The Course of Lectures announced by the Lyceum presents, as will be seen, an attractive bill of fare, and the prices of the tickets are much lower than that [sic] of any course we have seen, presenting the same inducements. The opening Lecture will be delivered by Dr. Bethune, whose lecture last season was regarded by many as the best of the course. We hope to see an evidence of the approval of the enterprise on the part of our citizens, by a full attendance on Monday evening.

On the same page appeared the final line-up, with Emerson scheduled to deliver "English Society" on February 9, 1857:

Lectures.

THE LECTURE COURSE FOR 1856-7 BEFORE THE

DANBURY LYCEUM.

CONSISTING of Ten FIRST CLASS Lectures, will commence on

Monday, Nov. 24th.

AT THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

The following distinguished gentlemen are *already engaged*, and will lecture in the order given:

Nov. 24th, 1856.—G. W. BETHUNE, D.D., Brooklyn, N.Y. Subject: Work and Labor.
Dec. 12th, 1856.—JOHN PIERPONT, Williamsburgh N. Y. The Scholars Hope—A Poem.
" 22nd, " Prof. W. S. CLARK, of Amherst, Mass. Subject: The Atmosphere.
Jan. 8th, 1857. THOMAS STARR KING, of Boston, Mass. Subject: ——
" 19th " RICH'D S. STORRS, Jr., D.D., Brooklyn. Subject: Eras in French History.
Feb. 2nd " WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., of Boston. Subject: Slavery.
" 9th " RALPH WALDO EMERSON, Concord, Ms. Subject: English Society.
" 20th " THEODORE PARKER, of Boston, Mass. Subject: Progressive Developement of Mankind.

JOHN B. GOUGH, Esq.,
and
HENRY WARD BEECHER,

are expected to complete the Course.

Season Tickets, admitting a Gentleman & Lady, $2,00
" " for Ladies or Minors, each, $1,00
Single Tickets, 25

To be had at the Book Stores of W. F. Olmstead and R. C. Cowan, and at the Jewelry Stores of T. A. Williams and F. S. Blackman.

As only a limited number of Season Tickets will be issued, all desirous of obtaining them should apply immediately,

J. MARSHALL GUION, *President.*
LYMAN D. BREWSTER, *Corresponding Sec'y.*

I.O.O.F.

P. G. M. REV. J. M. WILLEY, of Litchfield, will deliver an Address on ODD FELLOWSHIP, at the Disciples Church, Danbury, on Tuesday Evening, Nov. 25th, at 7 o'clock. The public are invited to attend. 21 1w

On Christmas Day,[3] a revised schedule was published, Emerson having shifted the date from Feb. 9, 1857, to Feb. 2,

and his topic from "English Society" to "Conduct of Life." Since no correspondence survives, we cannot give the reasons:

Dec. 30, 1856 Wm. H. Milburn, of New York "Rifle, Axe and Saddlebags"

Jan. 7, 1857 Thomas Starr King of Boston "Laws of Disorder"

Jan. 13, 1857 Theodore Parker of Boston "Progressive Development of Mankind"

Jan. 19, 1857 Richard S. Storrs, Jr., Brooklyn "Eras in French History"

Feb. 2, 1857 Ralph Waldo Emerson, Concord "Conduct of Life"

Feb. 13, 1857 Elihu Burritt "The Learned Blacksmith"

Feb. 20, 1857 Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston "Slavery"

On January 29, 1857, the paper indicated that Emerson had dropped out and that there had been a substitution and other changes:[4]

Feb. 2 Dr. E. L. Magoon, Brooklyn, N.Y. "Westward Empire"

Feb. 12 Richard D. Storrs, Jr., Brooklyn, N.Y. "Eras in French History"

Feb. [ ] Elihu Burritt "The Learned Blacksmith"

Feb. 20 Wendell Phillips, of Boston "Slavery"

Danbury offered no lyceum program for the 1857-1858 season. For the 1858-1859 line-up, if they again invited Emerson, he was not able to accept:[5]

Mon. Dec. 13, George W. Bethune, Brooklyn, N.Y. "Lectures and Lecturers"

Mon. Dec. 24, Bayard Taylor "Life in the North"

Mon. Jan. 10, R. S. Storrs, Jr., Brooklyn, N.Y. "Sir Walter Raleigh"

Mon. Jan. 17, Wendell Phillips, Boston "Philosophy of Reform"

Wed. Feb. 2, George W. Curtis, N.Y. "Democracy and Education"

Thurs. Feb. 23, T. S. King, Boston, "Personal Power and its Voices"

But Emerson did consent to lecture for the season 1859-1860, as may be seen in the following announcement:[6]

Nov. 15 Horace Greeley "The Great West"

Dec. 7 Ralph Waldo Emerson New Lecture

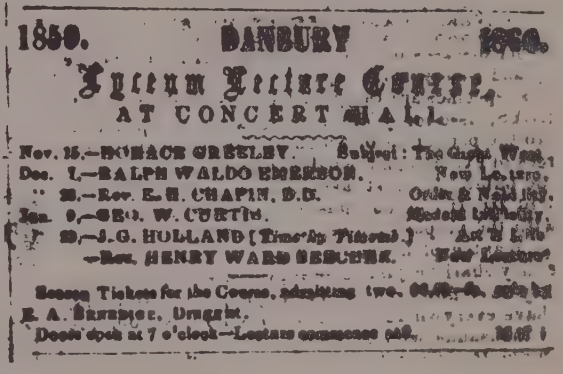
Dec. 28 Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D. "Order and Nobility"

Jan. 9 George W. Curtis "Modern Infidelity"

Jan. 23 J. G. Holland [Timothy Titcomb] "Art and Life"

——— Rev. Henry Ward Beecher New Lecture

In the Danbury Times of November 17, 1859, appeared the revised schedule:


1859. DANBURY 1860.

Lyceum Lecture Course,

AT CONCERT Hall.

Nov. 15.—HORACE GREELEY. Subject: The Great West.
Dec. 7.—RALPH WALDO EMERSON. New Lecture.
" 28.—Rev. E. H. CHAPIN, D.D. Order & Nobility.
Jan. 9.—GEO. W. CURTIS. Modern Infidelity.
" 23.—J. G. HOLLAND [Timothy Titcomb.] Art & Life.
—Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER. New Lecture.

Season Tickets for the Course, admitting two, $2.50. Single tickets $1.00.
E. A. Bannister, Druggist.
Doors open at 7 o'clock—Lectures commence at 8.

Since the Times usually discussed the most prominent speakers in the weekly issue preceding the visit, it undoubtedly had something to say about Emerson in No. 21 (Thursday, December 1, 1859), no single copy of which seems to have survived. (It is probably the only gap in the excellent file preserved in the Danbury Public Library, where every effort was made to locate it and where many courtesies were extended to me by Miss Jeannette Sunderland, Librarian, and Mrs. T. E. Wells, Assistant Librarian.) The issue of December 8,[7] however, published the day following Emerson's visit, announced that the lectures of "Dr. Edgar and Mr. Dill," of the Irish delegation, originally planned for Wednesday, Dec. 7, and postponed because of Emerson, would be given "tonight" at the First Congregational Church. In the same column was the following whimsical account of the impression Emerson had made:

"Success." Just at the culmination of the storm, last evening, we entered Concert Hall, and there found a large and *attentive* audience listening to Emerson, on "Success."—Some looked puzzled, as if but partially able to discover what the man meant; others, who were on the track, (or thought they were,) were hard at work in stringing up the tropes, apostrophes, and telegraphic quotations, for present and future use; others still, the fa-

miliar, and admirers of the man, were the best satisfied looking people we ever saw,—bathed in bliss. The rapidity of passage from one point and quotation to another, in the Lecture, required an active mind to supply the elipsis. One of his auditors remarked, that while preparing to enjoy one quotation, the opening part of which appeared familar, he found that the subject had been dropped, but where, was more than he could tell. The remark near the close of the Lecture, that every "deep" man, on going into a strange place, would find another "deep" man, threw our friend Flint into a revery, from which we found it necessary to arouse him at the close of the Lecture. The subject, (as the readers of this brief notice *may* have discovered) was "Success," and was, Emersonially, clearly elucidated.

In the same issue and on the same page was an account of the execution of John Brown at Charlestown:

Execution of Brown.

DISPOSITION OF HIS BODY, ETC.

CHARLESTOWN, Dec. 2nd.

"Brown was executed to-day at a little after 11 o'clock. There was no attempt at rescue, nor any indications of any disposition to interfere with the course of justice in any way. Indeed, there was very little excitement of any kind. I visited the field in which the gallows had been erected at an early hour this morning. The day was very fine and the air warm. All strangers were excluded from the town. Indeed, no railroad trains were allowed to enter during the earlier days. The gallows was erected at 7 ½ o'clock and all preparations for the execution immediately completed. The reporters who had secured the privilege of being present were allowed to enter soon after. On being summoned, Brown appeared perfectly calm and collected. He took formal leave of each of his fellow-prisoners, and gave each one a quarter of a dollar as a token of remembrance. He remarked to Cook that he did not tell the truth when he said that he had been induced by him to take up arms, and enter upon this project. Cook replied that he did—that Brown did invite him him to the course he had pursued. Brown replied, "I *did not*." As he left the jail Cook bowed to acquaintances outside. He rode to the scaffold in an open wagon seated upon his coffin. At the gallows Brown was still perfectly cool. He made no remarks. As soon as had mounted the scaffold the cap was put on and drawn over his face. He was not standing on the drop. The Sheriff told him to get upon it. Brown said, "I cannot see,—place me on it and don't keep me waiting." He stood upon the drop nine minutes and a half when it fell. After three minutes, there were no convulsions, or indications of life. At the end of twenty minutes his body was examined, and he was reported dead."

THE REMAINS IN NEW YORK.

The remains of John Brown arrived in this City at 6 1-2 o'clock on Saturday evening, by way of the Camden and Amboy route, from Philadelphia. The body who accompanied by one of the sons of the deceased, by whom it was taken in charge at Philadelphia. Mrs. Brown arrived by the New Jersey Railroad at 8 ½ o'clock P. M., and crossed the ferry in a close carriage. She was met at the depot by several friends, by whom it had been arranged that she should spend the night in this city, in order that she might obtain the necessary repose before resuming her journey. The large crowd of curious spectators who thronged the depots at Baltimore and Philadelphia, to obtain a view of the remains, rendered it necessary to observe some secrecy in their movements after arriving in this city. The body was accordingly kept at the steamboat landing until about 2 o'clock in the morning, (Sunday,) when it was quietly conveyed to an undertaker at No. 163 Bowery. Here it remained until 5 o'clock this morning when it was removed to the Railroad Depot in Warren street, and went forward by the early express train, Mrs Brown and her son accompanying it. During yesterday afternoon, the place where the body had been temporarily deposited became known, and and a crowd of persons gathered about the premises and endeavored to gain admittance to view the body. At one time it was feared that violence would be used to force open the gate which leads to the rear of the building. The Police, however, dispersed them. Afterwards several persons were admitted to the room, the lid of the coffin was removed, exposing to view the face and breast. The features would have been instantly recognized as those of John Brown by any one who had seen his photograph. They were not in the least distorted and were a calm expression as of one asleep. The lids were closed naturally, and there was a slight bruise perceptible on the side of the right eye. The body was dressed in the clothes in which it was executed.

TROY, N. Y., Monday, Dec. 5.

The body of John Brown, accompanied by Mrs. Brown and Wendell Phillips, passed through this city to-day, arriving at the depot at noon and leaving at 6 o'clock for its destination. The funeral will be attended at North Elba, Essex County, on Thursday next.

LAST MESSAGE FROM JOHN BROWN.

"I die alone responsible for my own operations, and ask no sympathy. I am satisfied in my own [illegible] to believe as I do unless his conscience and philosophy approve. I am alone responsible for my own acts, good or bad. If [illegible] wrong, the consequence [illegible] upon myself."

[illegible] FOR THE [illegible]

[illegible]

Emerson seems never to have returned to Danbury, possibly because the Lyceum came to an end with the first gun blasts of the

Civil War. It had a successor for at least a year, the Y.M.C.A., which offered as its "first series" (for 1860-1861) the following:[8]

Nov. 20 Elihu Burritt ("The Learned Blacksmith") "The Physiology of Nations"
Dec. 4. C. Oscanyan, from Constantinople, Turkey, "Habits, Customs, Religion, Character &c. of the Turks"
Dec. 12 Mortimer Thompson, "Paddle Your Own Canoe"
Jan. 7 Prof. Edward North, of Hamilton College
Feb. 5 Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, "John Q. Adams—His Character as a Christian and Statesman"

1 Danbury Times (Danbury, Conn.), Thurs., Nov. 13, 1856, page 3, col. 1.
2 Ibid., Nov. 20, 1856, p. 2.
3 Ibid., Dec. 25, 1856, p. 2, col. 6.
4 Ibid., Jan. 29, 1857, p. 3, col. 2.
5 Ibid., Dec. 2, 1858.
6 Ibid., Oct. 27, 1859, p. 3, col. 1.
7 Ibid., Dec. 8, 1859, p. 2, col 1
8 Ibid., Nov. 8, 1860, p. 2, col. 2.

EMERSON AND MELVILLE LECTURE IN NEW HAVEN (1856-1857)

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Emerson twice lectured in New Haven on the eve of the Civil War—the first time on Nov. 21, 1856 ("Conduct of Life") and the second, on Dec. 17, 1857 ("Country Life"). Melville shared the latter schedule, appearing on Dec. 30, 1857, with a paper on "Roman Statuary." Both men were guests of the Young Men's Institute whose flyer for the earlier series (shown below) indicates the numerous cultural activities of this organization.[1] Emerson is mentioned on it and in the annual reports,[2] which were filled with details like those on its broadsides and circulars. Though a definitive history of the Institute remains to be written, two sketches are available,[3] in one of which we learn of the financial successes of the lecture series:[4]

> The Institute, as a literary center of the city, brought to the New Haven public in annual lecture courses men and women of national reputation whose addresses served as an inspiration to the members and their friends. Incidentally the profit on these lectures made up the thousand dollar difference between the expense of running the library and the fees received from members.
>
> In 1855 the records showed that we had 500 members, a library of 6000 volumes, a reading room well supplied with papers and periodicals and an educational department serving from 250 to 300 young men.

In their chronological places will appear three newspaper reports on Emerson's first lecture and as many more on his second. Melville was less fortunate because the papers of Dec. 31, 1857, were so crowded with end-of-the-year announcements and fiscal reports that no space was available.[5]

If new Emerson or Melville letters should turn up regarding these lectures, they will probably be found addressed to members of the committees listed in the following advertisements.

1 From what is, perhaps, the unique copy, surviving in the scrapbook in the present Institute library, 847 Chapel Street, New Haven 10. I here express deepest thanks to Mrs. William F. Redfield and her staff for great kindnesses to me on my recent visit.
2 See, for example, the Thirty-first Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the New Haven Young Men's Institute, New Haven, 1857, p. 7.
3 Young Men's Institute: 1826-1926: Report of the Centennial Committee, New Haven, 1926; William Alanson Borden, An Historical Sketch of the New Haven Young Men's Institute, [New Haven, 1904].
4 See the work first mentioned in the preceding note, p. 22.
5 See Tyrus Hillway, "A Note on Melville's Lecture in New Haven," M L N, LX, 55-57 (January, 1945).

YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE,

ORANGE STREET, NEAR CHAPEL STREET.

Library, Reading Room, various Courses of Lectures, Evening Classes, &c. &c.

The liberality of a few public spirited citizens of New Haven, has recently provided the Young Men's Institute with a spacious and elegant building, fully adapted to its various wants.

In taking possession of this new edifice, the Executive Committee have determined to spare no pains to make the Institute useful and attractive to every class in the community, and supplementary to all other educational institutions. They have enlarged the Library, increased the number and variety of periodicals in the Reading Room, provided several popular Courses of Lectures, organized a Debating Club, and established Evening Classes for Young Men, and Day Classes for Ladies in various branches of study.

They now appeal both to the Young Men of New Haven, for whose benefit the Institute was established, and to all other citizens, to come forward and aid by their annual subscriptions, this important enterprise.

Attention is particularly requested to the following facts:—

THE LIBRARY.

Within a few weeks past, more than Two Thousand Volumes have been added to the Library of the Institute, making its whole number *Seven thousand three hundred and fifty*. This entitles the Institute to receive *gratis* the valuable publications of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

The income of a generous gift of $5,000 from Jos. E. Sheffield, Esq., will enable the Institute to procure many costly works, illustrative of Arts and Manufactures, which have heretofore been beyond its means. The Library hours are for the present, 10 to 12, A. M., 2 to 4, P. M., and 7 to 9, in the evening.

READING ROOM.

The following Periodicals are now taken by the Institute. It will be observed that the newspapers are from all the more important parts of this country. Other foreign Magazines will be added as fast as the subscriptions allow. Ladies as well as gentlemen are admitted to the Reading Room and Library.

AMERICAN—DAILIES.

New Haven Courier, Palladium and Register; Hartford Times, and Courant; New York Times, Journal of Commerce, Tribune, and Evening Post; Boston Post and Atlas; Newark Mercury; Philadelphia North American; and Manchester (N. H.) American.

TRI-WEEKLIES.

Charleston Mercury, Cincinnati Gazette, Cleveland Herald, Washington National Intelligencer.

WEEKLIES.

Birmingham Messenger; Waterbury Democrat and Advocate of the Union; Hartford Homestead and Callender; New York Home Journal, Freeman's Journal, Independent, Observer, Frank Leslie's Illustrated News, Musical World, Scientific American, Albion, Water Cure Journal, People's Organ, Albany Evening Journal, Buffalo Journal; Springfield Republican and Evening Express; Washington National Era; Boston Christian Watchman.

MONTHLIES.

Harper's, Putnam's, The Horticulturalist, Knickerbocker, Hunt's Merchants', Godey's, The Loom and The Anvil, Journal of the Franklin Institute, Banker's Magazine, Conn. Common School Journal, Mass. Teacher, Church Review, R. I. Schoolmaster, Ohio Journal of Education.

BI-MONTHLIES.

American Journal of Science, Barnard's Journal of Education.

QUARTERLIES.

North American, The New Englander, Yale Literary Magazine.

EUROPEAN----WEEKLIES.

London Punch and Illustrated News, Glasgow Post.

MONTHLIES.

Blackwood's Magazine.

QUARTERLIES.

London Quarterly, Westminister, Edinburg and North British.

The Reading Room is open from 8 A. M., to 10 P. M.

LECTURES.

The following courses of Lectures have been arranged for the present season.

1. A Public Course of Nine Lectures by Hon. N. P. Banks, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Esq., Wm. Gilmore Simms, Esq., Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, William Stark, Esq., E. P. Whipple, Esq., Prof. Jas. D. Dana, Rev. F. Vinton, and George Sumner, Esq. Efforts are also in progress to secure an address from Hon. Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri.

2. A public Course of Four Lectures by Geo. W. Curtis, Esq., of New York, on English Literature, to commence January 15th.

3. A Public Course of Six Lectures by Prof. G. Gajani, author of the "Roman Exile," and the "Italian Reformers." Particulars to be announced hereafter.

Members of the Institute are admitted at a reduced price.

4. A Course of Lectures, of a practical character, to be given by Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. Mr. Littlejohn, Hon. Henry Barnard, of Hartford, Prof. Noah Porter, of Yale College, W. H. Russell, Esq., Henry E. Peck, Esq., Dr. Lucius A. Thomas, Mr. P. W. Calkin and others.

This Course is *free to the Members of the Institute.*

5. A Course of Lectures to Ladies, on Chemistry, by Prof. B. Silliman, Jr., and Prof, Charles H. Porter. This course is now in progress and will be followed, *if desired*, by others on Natural Philosophy, Natural History and other subjects.

Ladies, subscribers to the Institute, procure tickets at a reduced price.

CLASSES FOR YOUNG MEN.

The classes for instruction, which have heretofore been a leading feature in the Institute, are now organized, as follows:—

Book Keeping, Penmanship, Arithmetic, (higher and lower) The English Language, Drawing, both ornamental and practical in its relations to Architecture, Machinery and Carriage making. Classes will also be formed for the study of the French and German Languages, Algebra, Geometry, and other higher branches of study, should a sufficient number desire it.

Arrangements are also making for a Class in VOCAL MUSIC.

CLASSES FOR YOUNG LADIES.

Classes in the French Language, Ornamental Drawing, and other branches will soon be organized for ladies.

DEBATING CLUB.

The Institute furnishes every facility for the formation of Debating Classes, one of which is already organized. Others will be formed if desired by a sufficient number of members.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

Life Membership, - - - -	$100.00 per annum.
Gentlemen over 21 Years of age, - -	4.00 " "
" under " " " - -	3.00 " "
Ladies, - - - - - -	3.00 " "

Journal and Courier
Nov. 18, 1856, p. 3.

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Daily Register
Nov. 18, 1856, p. 3.

INSTITUTE LECTURES.

THE Miscellaneous Course of Public Lectures before the Young Men's Institute, NINE in number, will be opened on MONDAY EVENING, Nov. 17th, in the NORTH CHURCH, with an Address by

Hon. NATHANIEL P. BANKS, of Massachusetts.

The succeeding lectures will be given on *Thursday* evenings, except the second, which will be on *Friday* evening, Thursday being Thanksgiving Day, and the seventh and eighth, which will be on *Monday* evening.—Christmas and New Years coming on Thursday.

The following named gentlemen are engaged to speak:

Nov. 21st.—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.—Subject—Conduct of Life.

Nov. 27th.—WM. GILMORE SIMMS, of South Carolina. Subject—The Carolina Partisan, Gen. Marion.

Dec. 4th.—HENRY WARD BEECHER, D. D.,—Subject to be named hereafter.

Dec. 11th.—WILLIAM STARK, Esq., of Manchester, N. H. Poem—Old Times and New.

Dec. 18th.—EDWIN P. WHIPPLE, of Boston. Subject—Courage.

Dec. 23d.—Prof. JAMES D. DANA, L. L. D., of Yale College. Subject—Coral Islands. (To be illustrated by drawings and specimens.)

Dec. 29th.—Rev. FRANCIS VINTON, D. D., of N. York. Subject—The Gentleman.

Jan. 8th.—GEORGE SUMNER, of Boston. Subject—Old Europe and Young America.

Efforts are in progress to obtain an Address from Hon. THOMAS H. BENTON, of Missouri, should the Committee succeed, those having tickets for this Course will be admitted to that Lecture at a proportionate price.

Mr. Stephen G. Bucknall will probably preside at the Organ.

Course tickets *to members*, admitting a lady and gentleman, $1.50.

Course tickets *to members*, admitting one person, $1.—To be obtained at the Library.

Course Tickets remaining unsold will be offered for sale to the public on *Thursday*, Nov. 13th, at the Library, Skinner & Sperry's, and Thomas H. Pease's.

Gentlemen's ticket, ...	$1.50
Ladies' "	1.00

The doors will be open at 7. Lectures to commence at 8 o'clock.

The Committee have the pleasure to announce that GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, Esq., of New York, author of the Potiphar papers, &c., has consented to give before the Institute a Course of Lectures on eminent English authors—Dickens, Thackeray, and others—immediately after the close of the Miscellaneous Course.

Arrangements have also been made with Prof. G. GAJANI, LL. D., author of the "Roman Exile," to repeat before the Institute a Course of Lectures on the Italian Reformers, which he is now delivering at the Lowell Institute, in Boston.

A short Course of popular Scientific Lectures may also be provided during the winter, of which due notice will be given.

O. F. WINCHESTER,
M. T. BROWN,
LYMAN BAIRD,
} Pub. Lecture Com.

Members' Lectures.

In addition to the Public Courses, there will be a series of Lectures, *free to members of the Institute*, given once a week during the winter, generally on Monday evenings, in the New Hall of the Institute, in Orange st.

Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. Mr. Littlejohn, Hon. Henry Barnard, of Hartford, Prof. Noah Porter, of Yale College, Wm. H. Russell, Esq., Henry E. Peck, Esq., Dr. Lucius A. Thomas, Mr. P. W. Calkins, will be among the lecturers.

It is proposed to have this Course commence on Monday evening, Nov. 24th.

DANIEL C. GILMAN,
Chairman of Members' Lec. Committee.

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INSTITUTE LECTURES!

MISCELLANEOUS COURSE!

AT BREWSTER'S HALL!

The following named gentlemen are engaged to speak:

Nov. 21st—R. W. Emerson.

Nov. 27th—Wm. Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina. Subject—The Carolina Partisan, Gen. Marion.

Dec. 4th—H. W. Beecher, D. D.

Dec. 11th—Wm. Stark, Esq., of Manchester, N. H. Poem—Old Times and New.

Dec. 18th—E. P. Whipple, of Boston, Subject—Courage.

Dec. 23d—Prof. J. D. Dana, LL. D., of Yale College. Subject—Coral Islands. (To be illustrated by drawings and specimens.)

Dec. 29th—Rev. F. Vinton, D. D., of New York. Subject—The Gentleman.

Jan. 8th—Geo. Sumner, of Boston. Subject—Old Europe and Young America.

Efforts in progress to obtain an address from Hon. Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. Should the Committee succeed, those having tickets for this course, will be admitted to that lecture, at a proportionate price.

Stephen G. Bucknall will preside at the organ.

Course tickets, to members, admitting a lady and gentleman, $1.50; &c. &c. for one person, $1—to be obtained at the Library. Course tickets to non-members may be had at the library, Skinner & Sperry's and T. H. Pease's.

Gentleman's ticket, $1.50
Lady's " 1.00

Doors open at 7—Lecture to commence at 8 o'clk.

Journal and Courier.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY
CARRINGTON & HOTCHKISS,
[STATE PRINTERS,]
115 Chapel-street, New Haven, Conn.

THURSDAY MORNING, NOV. 20.

Institute Lecture.

On Friday evening, the second Institute Lecture will be delivered at Brewster's Hall, by Ralph Waldo Emerson. His subject is the "*Conduct of Life.*" Of course a man of the talents and reputation of Mr Emerson will have a crowded house

Daily Register
Nov. 21, 1856, p. 3.

INSTITUTE LECTURES!

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Jan. 8th—GEO. SUMNER, of Boston. Subject—Old Europe and Young America.

Efforts are in progress to obtain an address from Hon. THOMAS H. BENTON, of Missouri. Should the Committee succeed, those having tickets for this course, will be admitted to that lecture, at a proportionate price.

Stephen G. Bucknall will preside at the organ.

Course tickets, *to members*, admitting a lady and gentleman, $1.50; do. do. for one person, $1—to be obtained of the Librarian. Course tickets to non-members for sale at the library, Skinner & Sperry's and T. H. Pease.

Gentleman's ticket, $1 50
Lady's " 1.00

Doors open at 7—Lecture to commence at 8 o'clk.

n18-tf

Institute Lecture

The lecture of Ralph Waldo Emerson, before the Young Men's Institute, was well received by a large audience. A letter was read from G. W. Simms of South Carolina, suggesting that he had not better come here, as his lecture would be an unpopular one in this quarter, and he did not want to speak to an unruly audience, or empty benches. This is remarkable, considering that he first offered himself and named his price. We hope he won't come.

Daily Palladium
Nov. 21, 1856, p. 3

INSTITUTE LECTURES.

MISCELLANEOUS COURSE AT BREWSTER'S HALL.

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Nov. 27th.—WM. GILMORE SIMMS, of South Carolina. Subject—The Carolina Partisan, Gen. Marion.

Dec. 4th.—HENRY WARD BEECHER, D. D.,—Subject to be named hereafter.

Dec. 11th.—WILLIAM STARK, Esq., of Manchester, N. H. Poem—Old Times and New.

Dec. 18th.—EDWIN P. WHIPPLE, of Boston. Subject—Courage.

Dec 23d.—Prof. JAMES D. DANA, L. L. D., of Yale College. Subject—Coral Islands. (To be illustrated by drawings and specimens.)

Dec. 29th.—Rev. FRANCIS VINTON, D. D., of N. York. Subject—The Gentleman.

Jan. 8th.—GEORGE SUMNER, of Boston. Subject—Old Europe and Young America.

Efforts are in progress to obtain an Address from Hon. THOMAS H. BENTON, of Missouri. Should the Committee succeed, those having tickets for this Course will be admitted to that Lecture at a proportionate price.

Mr. STEPHEN G. BUCKNALL will probably preside at the Organ.

Course tickets, *to members*, admitting a lady and gentleman, $1.50.

Course tickets, *to members*, admitting one person, $1.00. To be obtained at the Library.

Course tickets to members for sale at the Library, Skinner & Sperry's, and Thomas H. Pease's.

Gentleman's ticket.....$1.50
Ladies' " 1.00

The doors will be open at 7. Lectures to commence at 8 o'clock.

—o—o—o—

The Committee have the pleasure to announce that

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, Esq., of New York,

author of the Potiphar Papers, &c., has consented to give before the Institute a Course of Lectures on eminent English authors—Dickens, Thackeray, and others—immediately after the close of the Miscellaneous Course.

Arrangements have also been made with

PROF. G. GAJANI, L. L. D.,

author of the "Roman Exile," to repeat before the Institute a Course of Lectures on the Italian Reformers, which he is now delivering at the Lowell Institute, in Boston.

A short Course of popular Scientific Lectures may also be provided during the winter, of which due notice will be given.

O. F. WINCHESTER,
H. T. BROWN,
LYMAN BAIRD,
} Pub. Lecture Com.

BREWSTER LECTURES.

In addition to the Public Courses, there will be a series of Lectures, *free to members of the Institute*, given once a week during the winter, generally on Monday evenings, in the New Hall of the Institute, in Orange street.

Rev. Dr. BACON, Rev. Mr. LITTLEJOHN, Hon. HENRY BARNARD, of Hartford, Prof. NOAH PORTER, of Yale College, Wm. H. RUSSELL, Esq., HENRY E. PROX, Esq., Dr. JOSEPH A. THOMAS, Mr. F. W. CALKINS, will be among the lecturers.

It is proposed to have this Course commence on Monday evening, Nov. 24th.

DANIEL C. GILMAN,
Chairman of Members' Lec. Committee.

n20

[From the Daily Palladium, Nov. 22, 1856, p. 3, col. 6:]

Daily Register
Nov. 22, 1856, p. 2.

90

Journal and Courier
Nov. 22, 1856, p. 2.

Mr. Emerson's Lecture.

Mr. Emerson's lecture before the Institute last evening was fully attended, of course. His lecture was an entertaining, original, eccentric and sometimes extravagant criticism upon human nature and human capabilities. It was more popular in its character than other lectures we have heard from him, and was greatly enjoyed by the audience.

Before the lecture commenced, the President of the Institute announbed that W. G. Simms of South Carolina, who had been engaged, had just written to decline, on the ground that prejudice had preceded him, and he would not lecture to an unruly audience, or to empty benches. A vote was taken, and when doubted, it was re-taken and it was decided to hold Mr. Simms to his engagement.

The vote was, in our opinion, wrong; for Mr. Simms showed such a want of respect toward New Haven and its people, that it should have been rebuked.

Institute Lecture.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was the lecturer before the Y. M. Institute, last evening. This gentleman, who glories in a reputation for "eccentricity," fully sustained it on that occasion, by making a third rate *Fremont* speech, which sent away some of his hearers. "One of the sufferers," begs us to suggest to the officers of the Institute, that hereafter they announce in their advertisements, when an abolition lecture is to be given, as he "should greatly prefer taking his family, on such occasions, to Wyatt's, to see the play of Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Professor Hoff's magic performances." It is fair to infer that the managers of the Institute intend the purchasers of tickets shall have their money's worth in something original, at least! but to be treated to such fustian as that of Mr. Emerson's, is like advertising a "grand concert," and then playing "Pop goes the Weasel."

The President announced the reception of information from W. G. Simms, of South Carolina, asking to be excused from his engagement, on the ground of prevailing prejudices at the North, and a suggestion that his presence would not be agreeable. The question was put to the audience, who decided to hold Mr. S. to his engagement—and we sincerely hope he will comply with the very general wish to hear him. Mr. S. is one of the first literary men of the country, and his theme, "Gen. Marion," one of surpassing interest.

Cover: Yale College and State House. *c.* 1840. *Water color, 16¾ x 24¼ inches. Anonymous. (American, 19th century.) University purchase in memory of Carl A. Lohmann.*

Journal and Courier
Nov. 16, 1857, p. 3.

YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE, 1857-8.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

THE Committee on this Department of the Institute, announce the delivery of the following course of lectures

IN BREWSTER'S HALL.

Evenings, Lecturers, Subjects.

1857.

1. Friday, Nov. 27.—WENDELL PHILLIPS, "THE LOST ARTS."

2. Thursday, Dec. 3. REV E. H CHAPIN.—"SOCIAL FORCES."

3. Thursday, Dec 10 REV. H. W. BEECHER, SUBJECT TO BE ANNOUNCED

4. Thursday, Dec. 17 RALPH W. EMERSON,—"COUNTRY LIFE."

5. Thursday, Dec. 24 EDW. P. WHIPPLE,—"YOUNG MEN IN HISTORY."

6. Wednesday, Dec'r 30 HERMAN MELVILLE, "ROMAN STATUARY."

1858.

7. Thursday, Jan 7 REV T STARR KING,—"EXISTENCE AND LIFE."

8. Monday, Jan 11 ISAAC I HAYES. "KANE'S POLAR SEA."

9. Thursday, Jan 11 GEO. W CURTIS,—"SIR PHILIP SIDNEY."

10. Thursday, Jan. 21.—PROFESSOR C. C FELTON,—"ATHENS."

11 Friday, Jan. 29.—REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER, "THE LAW OF CONSCIENCE, AND THE CONSCIENCE OF LAW."

12 Friday, Feb 5.—PROF F D HUNTINGTON,—SUBJECT TO BE ANNOUNCED.

TERMS OF ADMISSION.

INSTITUTE MEMBER'S COURSE TICKET,	$1 00
NON-MEMBER'S COURSE TICKET,	$1.50
LADY'S COURSE TICKET,	$1.00
SINGLE ADMISSIONS,	$0.25

TICKETS TO BE SHOWN AT EACH LECTURE

HOUR OF COMMENCEMENT, 8 P. M., (with exception of second lecture.)

☞ TICKETS FOR SALE, on and after THURSDAY, Nov 19th, for Institute Members, at the INSTITUTE LIBRARY, for Non-Members, at SKINNER & SPERRY'S, 154 Chapel st., and at THOS. H. PEASE'S, 83 Chapel st.

Single Tickets at Skinner & Sperry's, and at the door of the Hall

O. F. WINCHESTER,
H. H. McFARLAND,
R. P. COWLES,
} Public Lecture Com.

nov 16 dtf

☞ Palladium and Register copy

Cook Wanted.

WANTED a young woman, competent to do the cooking of a restaurant Inquire at 61 Church street.
n13 3t ELI HILLS

Daily Register
Nov. 18, 1857, p. 2.

YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE, 1857-8.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

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IN BREWSTER'S HALL.

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4. Thursday, Dec. 17.—RALPH W. EMERSON,—"COUNTRY LIFE."

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Single Tickets at Skinner & Sperry's, and at the door of the Hall.

O. F. WINCHESTER,
H. H. McFARLAND,
R. P. COWLES,
} Public Lecture Com

nov 16 dtf

In these hard times,

THE public appreciate our method of selling GROCERIES at such a trifling advance from cost, as to enable those who have not a large quantity of the "needful," to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, at the smallest possible cost. We shall endeavor to merit a continuance of your approbation.

REED & LINDSEY,
corner State and Grand sts.

n17

Journal and Courier.

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JOHN B. CARRINGTON. JOHN B. HOTCHKISS.

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ADVERTISING	INCLUDING PAPER	$25.00

WEDNESDAY MORNING, NOV. 25. [1857]

Institute Lectures.

The course of public lectures provided by the Committee of the Young Men's Institute, very much excels the usual provision for this class of popular entertainments, both in the reputation of the lecturers and in their choice of subjects.

Wendell Phillips is widely known as holding certain political theories with which hardly a dozen men in the country, outside of insane retreats, have any sympathy. He is also known as a gentleman of eminent private worth, and what is of more consequence in this connection, as possessed of a flowing eloquence that charms a miscellaneous audience, beyound any other public speaker in America.

Dr. Chapin is the minister of the leading Universalist Church in New York city, and as such is equally offensive as a lecturer, to those who feel it incumbent on them to carry their religious likes and dislikes into a lecture room devoted to literary purposes, as Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, who follows him, can be to another class who find it necessary to make a similar use of their political antipathies. That Dr. Chapin will take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded him to preach Universalism, or that Henry Ward Beecher will bring a Sharpe's rifle buttoned up under his overcoat, is not to be presumed; and even should they indulge in such exhibitions of bad taste, it is barely possible that the audience might survive it.

Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson has made choice of a subject, "Country Life," admirably fitted to exhibit the genial side of one of the most remarkable minds this country has produced, and a subject moreover that has no connection with those opinions of Mr. Emerson which are regarded by a large portion of our citizens as radically unsound and pernicious.

The subject chosen by Mr. Whipple, "Young Men in History," should draw a crowded house. The lecturer himself, without early advantages of education and engaged in a laborious occupation, has written himself a name in literary history, already recognized on both sides of the Atlantic.

Herman Melville, the author of "Oomoo," "Typee," "White Jacket," &c., was first made known to the reading public by his wonderfully graphic and Robinson Crusoe-like record of the vagabond life he led, while a runaway sailor from an American whaler, in an unknown valley occupied by certain cannibal tribes, in one of the less frequented islands of the Pacific Ocean.

Rev. T. Starr King, of Boston, has repeatedly lectured in New Haven, and is well known as an unusually attractive speaker.

Dr. Hayes was surgeon to that forlorn hope led on by the lamented Kane, which volunteered to do service to humanity and science, through weary months of conflict with Arctic cold and constant peril, under brooding darkness and amid frozen seas. As one of the heroic little band who unfurled the "bit of striped bunting" to a more northern and icy breeze than bunting ever waved in before, Dr. Hayes brought back with him maimed limbs as trophies of the share he bore in this act of lonely daring. To see such a man, and to hear his description of what they achieved and wherein they failed, ought to be worth all that the entire course will cost.

Mr. Curtis, the author of "The Potiphar Papers," the learned and scholarly Prof. Felton of Harvard College, Rev. Dr. Cheever of New York, and Prof. Huntington of Cambridge, are too well known in this community to need special notice.

We doubt whether any single course of public lectures in this country has embraced so many names of men of mark as the course offered us for this winter, and we trust the Institute may be amply remunerated for the labor it has caused them and the expense they have incurred.

Daily Palladium
Dec. 15, 1857, p. 3.

YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE, 1857-8.
PUBLIC LECTURES.

THE Fourth Lecture of the Course will be given on THURSDAY, DEC. 17TH, AT 8 P. M., IN THE
College Street Church, by
RALPH W. EMERSON,
OF CONCORD, MASS., ON
"COUNTRY LIFE."

PARTICULAR NOTICE.

A Church being provided for nearly, if not quite all the remaining Lectures, the Committee announce that, to obviate the disadvantages of the great crowds heretofore collected at the doors, they have adopted the following rules, *which must be adhered to:—*

DOORS WILL OPEN AT 6¼ P. M.

Only Course Ticket holders admitted, until 7½ p.m.

SINGLE ADMISSION TICKETS SOLD ONLY AT THE DOOR, AND AFTER 7¼ P. M., EACH EVENING.

The remaining lectures are as follows:—

EVENINGS—LECTURERS—SUBJECTS.

1857.

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6. Wednesday, Dec. 30.—HERMAN MELVILLE,—"ROMAN STATUARY."

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O. F. WINCHESTER,
H. H. McFARLAND,
R. P. COWLES,
} Public Lecture Com

d7 dtf

Journal and Courier
Dec. 15, 1857, p. 3.

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10. Thursday, Jan 21 PROFESSOR C C. FELTON,—"ATHENS."

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H. H. McFARLAND,
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} Public Lecture Com.

de: 11 dtf

Register
Dec. 15, 1857, p. 3.

YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE, 1857 8.
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SINGLE ADMISSION TICKETS SOLD ONLY AT THE DOOR, AND AFTER 7½ P. M., EACH EVENING

Jepson's Singing Classes.

Journal and Courier
Dec. 18, 1857, p. 2.

The Lecture.

The College street Church was crowded to listen to Mr. Emerson's lecture on "Country Life," last evening. Its speciality was "walking" for exercise and for cultivating and enriching the mind by the observation and study of nature. It was a pleasant lecture, with a great deal of thoughtful truth in it.

☞ Two gentlemen, passengers in the morning express train from New York, were robbed of small sums at our depot, on Wednesday. Mr. Barrows, of Rockville, suffered only to the extent of four dollars, and the other gentleman lost ten times as much. We notice the Hartford papers have a habit of complaining of our depot, but it is really one of the most convenient in the country, except it is not large enough for the great business done. The advantage of a track below the traveled roads, is incalculable to the city.

The Lecture

Our readers will hardly need to be reminded that Mr. Emerson—that most strange compound of the nineteenth century yankee, with the mystical philosophy of Plato's school—will lecture to-morrow evening. His subject "Country Life"—is one that promises a rich treat to his hearers. [Daily Palladium, Dec. 16, 1857, p. 2, col. 1]

The Lecture

College street Church was filled to the utmost capacity last evening, by an interested audience. Mr. Emerson's lecture was a beautiful, quiet, thoughtful production, but with less of his peculiarities than usual. It was well worth hearing, however, and gave general satisfaction. X.Y.
[Daily Palladium, Dec. 18, 1857, p. 2, col. 1]

Journal and Courier
Dec. 17, 1857, p. 2.

DAILY MORNING
PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING (SUNDAYS EXCEPTED)

Journal and Courier.

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THURSDAY MORNING, DEC. 17.

Ralph Waldo Emerson and His Lecture.

Whatever difference of views there may be in the community in relation to Mr Emerson, we think he must be acknowledged as one of the boldest and most suggestive of the leading thinkers of to-day. We feel assured that in the history of opinion, in the records of the best American art and literature, his name must at last find a very high place.

We know, indeed, in the memories of those who are accustomed to weigh logically the real import and the possible or perverted import of every formula of words they may use, expecting and intending them to fit exactly into a completed system of philosophy, his name may for some time possibly start unpleasant misgivings. He is evidently always expecting and longing for *growth*, and he works and waits patiently for it. Conceiving the *truth* as a perennial river, he is always looking up stream, and is not surprised or grieved to see it assume new forms and colors. If fogs come, he peers anxiously into them, sometimes seeming to discern dim outlines which are altogether lost to the rest of us, but very often pointing us to glorious rainbow hues just above the fogs.

Of *completed systems* of philosophy, he seems to have as natural a suspicion as a Western man has of a "town fenced in and *finished*." With Lord Bacon, he seems to say that "as young men, when they knit and shape perfectly, do seldom grow to a further stature; so knowledge, while it is in aphorisms and observations, is in growth; but when it is once comprehended in exact methods, it may, perchance, be further polished and illustrated, and accommodated for use and practice, but it increases no more in bulk and substance," and he *feels*, we presume, with Bacon, that "the worst and most absurd of triflers are those who have pent the whole art in strict methods and narrow systems, which men commonly cry up for their regularity and style."

And so, while he constantly and curiously suggests what may seem to be, and what indeed may be, incompatible with some existing and established theories, he seldom attacks anything. If his idea is true, it will stand—if it is not true, he cares nothing for it. And he is not disposed to doubt at all that there are *still* other infinite unexplored sides to what presents itself to him as the *whole* truth. So his own work, and the work of the bravest and the best, is at any time liable to be set aside by some new Copernicus in the world of thought.

He seems to have almost supreme confidence in the human soul—in its possibilities—its dignity—its almost or quite literal *inspiration* in its best moods, and in its real innate love of truth and beauty. With large "intellectual hospitality," he advances almost beyond *toleration* of sincere and earnest opinions that he considers erroneous.

But of his peculiar moral and religious views, good or bad, we shall be likely to get nothing to-night. His subject is "Country Life," and without a bit of mysticism or cant, he will doubtless give us a peculiar, unexpected, pastoral *hymn* that will please by its practical sense no less than by its poetic rythm and glow, and its scholastic elegance.

His elocution admirably fits his thought, and carries it boldly and without fatigue. His life is pure, serene, earnest and sincere. His name is constantly occurring in literature, and in every day's conversation in society. Let us all, then, hear him for ourselves, and see what *we* can "make out" of him. S

Mr. Melville before the Institute.

By reference to the advertisement in another column of this morning's paper, it will be seen that the Institute lecture this week, by Herman Melville, the novelist, is to be given on Wednesday (not Thursday) evening, and in the College street Church.

Mr. Patrick Morrissey, 110 Grand street, offers for sale a good assortment of Catholic Books of the latest publication. See his advertisement.

Journal and Courier
Dec. 28, 1857, p. 2.

Sixth Institute Lecture, 1857-8.

HERMAN MELVILLE,

OF PITTSFIELD,

Author of "Typee," "Omoo," &c. &c., will give his Lecture on

"THE STATUARY OF ROME,"

—ON—

Wednesday, Dec. 30th, at 8 P. M.,

IN THE COLLEGE STREET CHURCH.

SINGLE TICKETS, 25 CENTS

SOLD AT SKINNER & SPERRY'S, AND T. H. PEASE'S.

☞ Single tickets not admitted until half past 7 o'clock.

d28 3t

Journal and Courier
Dec. 29, 1857, p. 3.

Sixth Institute Lecture.

HERMAN MELVILLE, of Pittsfield, author of "Typee," "Omoo," etc., will give his Lecture on "Statuary of Rome," on WEDNESDAY, Dec. 30, at 8 p. m.,

In the College street Church.

Single tickets 25 cents—sold at Skinner & Sperry's and T. H. Pease's. d23-3d

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We shall continue reducing

OUR stock until Feb. 1st, 1858, at which time we shall take our inventory. Previous to Feb. 1st, Dry Goods will be sold cheap for cash, at

d28 RIGGS & SMITH'S.

Daily Register
Dec. 29, 1857, p. 3.

Mr. Melville's Lecture

We remind our readers that Mr. Herman Melville will deliver the 5th lecture of the Institute course to-night in the College street Church. It will be well worth hearing. [Daily Palladium, Dec. 30, 1857, p. 2, col. 2.]

Mr. Herman Melville and his Lecture.

Our notions in regard to individuals we have not seen and heard, are so modified by fugitive hints and exaggerated particulars, that we ought not to rely too implicitly upon them. The experience of lecture goers is peculiarly suggestive on this point. We remember to have listened to a distinguished Bishop, whose name rung in very remarkable plaudits through the land, and who doubtless is one of the ablest members of his profession, but he had nothing especial then to say, and we left, thinking of the words of a distinguished Senator, that "this was not the first time in the course of human affairs that the vigor and success of the war had not quite come up to the lofty and sounding phrase of the manifesto."

So, again, when Mr. Phillips was invited here for the first time, and a religious society pointedly refused him alone of all a church in which to speak of Slavery, we doubt not many excellent persons religiously believed that he would come before the people foaming with rage, and cursing the church as an emissary of satan, and almost literally howling at the State for not dissolving itself at once in anarchy and bloodshed.

But Mr. P. came putting, as he said, "the hoofs and horns of Garrisonism in the fore front of his speech," and filled the town with a delight that it seems impossible to satiate.

So it is apt to be with every candidate for the public favor, and through this ordeal of misapprehension Mr. Melville must accordingly pass. He has achieved a wide reputation as a pleasant and agreeable writer of fiction, which will attract and reward the large audience which will assemble to hear him.

The lecture will be delivered in the College street Church on Wednesday evening. His subject, "Roman Statuary," is purely artistic, and of course can rouse no jealous solicitude in regard to any possible connection between it and questions of current politics, or the vexed questions of theological dispute.

We know little of Mr. M. personally—farther than that he is a native of Pittsfield, Mass. where he now resides—a farmer of staid and sober demeanor, and a gentleman of scholarly tastes, and connected by birth and marriage with some of the first families of the country. Without the best advantages of culture in his early youth, he has advanced over difficulties of considerable magnitude, to a position of peculiar elevation as an American literary man. He began his life, we believe, by going on a whaling voyage to the Pacific seas, where he gathered the materials for his first books; and with the success his first ventures in literature met, began a career that has gathered round him a large circle of admiring friends.

And now, on his first appearance in New Haven, in this new field of literary enterprize, let us welcome him with the hospitality and kindness which the gathering of a large audience always implies.

S.

Journal and Courier, Dec. 30, 1857, p. 2.

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RAPPACCINI'S GARDEN

OR THE MURDER OF INNOCENCE

By WILLIAM ROSSKY

Recent studies of "Rappaccini's Daughter," though greatly enriching our understanding of the tale, tend to view the characters as a series of rather parallel, if varied, illustrations of a major theme. Although the studies implicitly or explicitly recognize Beatrice as center of the story, she seems to be regarded essentially as another, if most important, variation on the major theme. For Hyatt H. Waggoner, "Beatrice typifies the condition of man since the Fall," a mixture of good and evil to be found with variations also in Giovanni and Rappaccini.[1] Though he is more concerned with examining Beatrice as a symbol of woman's offering both sin and redemption to Giovanni, for Roy R. Male, also, "The four protagonists of the story embody in various ways this dualism of good and evil," and "the real subject of the story is the dual nature of humanity."[2] Ray B. West and Robert W. Stallman find in Beatrice, as in Rappaccini and in Giovanni, modern variations of "the original sin."[3] But such views do not adequately recognize the emphatic contrast which Hawthorne makes between Beatrice and the other characters; do not indicate, consequently, how pivotal a role she plays; and thus fail to pinpoint the central effect of the tale.

Hawthorne's title, of course, encourages the reader to find the emotional and intellectual center of the story principally in Beatrice. It is about her that the action flows and ultimately in terms of her that all the characters act. The major emotional effects occurring at the end have to do with Beatrice, who is hub of the story. The full circle of meaning arises primarily and most precisely from the pattern of relationships which the other characters have with her. And the essential thing about Beatrice is her innocence. Although Hawthorne insists upon her sisterhood with the poisonous purple plant, that sisterhood cannot make Beatrice evil. Even the plant, for that matter, is the horrible creation of evil, not evil itself. The evil is in the creator Rappaccini. Indeed, the sisterhood of woman and plant is a sisterhood of victims. "It was my sister, and I loved it with a human affection; for, alas!—hast thou not suspected it?—there was an awful doom," says Beatrice. And her love of the plant

becomes not a sign of her evil but rather an index to the terrible loneliness of which she speaks to Giovanni. Even if initially we are inclined to regard the plants as evil, as the story proceeds the horror of the garden is placed where it belongs—in the human being whose poison has created this modern Eden, and not in the plants—or in Beatrice.[4]

Beatrice's nature, on the contrary, is most completely symbolized by the clear rill flowing through ruins. There is no ambiguity in the fountain, no true intermingling of evil and good. The ruin is decay, but the water running through it is freshness, purity. Whatever its channel, the stream continues "to gush and sparkle into the sunbeams as cheerfully as ever." It is "as if the fountain were an immortal spirit." This is Beatrice, through whose poisoned clay runs the innocent clear water of spirit. And although critics have generally noticed the association between Beatrice and the fountain,[5] they have not observed how very strongly Hawthorne makes the identification or how precisely he draws the parallel. As Beatrice speaks to Giovanni, "Her spirit gushed out before him like a fresh rill that was just catching its first glimpse of the sunlight...." The comparison of Beatrice's "fantasies" to gems sparkling "upward among the bubbles of the fountain" is an echo of a description at the opening. Even her words flow like a fountain "from the depths of the heart outward." And Giovanni has "recollections of many a holy and passionate outgush of her heart, when the pure fountain had been unsealed from its depths and made visible in its transparency to his mental eye; recollections which, had Giovanni known how to estimate them, would have assured him that all this ugly mystery was but an earthly illusion, and that, whatever mist of evil might seem to have gathered over her, the real Beatrice was a heavenly angel." And here Hawthorne speaks in his own voice. As Beatrice herself puts it, "...though my body be nourished with poison, my spirit is God's creature...." Thus Hawthorne very carefully keeps the evil outside Beatrice, so to speak. Unlike those of the other characters, her soul contains no mingling of good and evil. Beatrice remains essentially the pure fountain, the incorruptible, the immortal and pure spirit that runs through clay capable of being diseased and misused. And this bodily weakness is the only sign of her mortal imperfection. Essentially she is a Miranda of innocence and purity.

These virtues, then, become Hawthorne's central means to his very specific criticisms of the modern world and to the final emotional effect of the story. As each character circles about the spiritual radiance of Beatrice, his particular modern guilt is highlighted. Her virtue distinctly illuminates the evil in the others; her external flaw contrasts ironically with the internal poison of the others. For each member of the circling cast, Beatrice's innocence is meaningless. She is only a tool to some personal end. In pursuing his particular goals, each character symbolizes a different evil of the modern world; but all are united by an unsympathetic egocentric blindness which tramples innocence. We do have a "duality" in the characters. They are to some extent ordinary human beings——and would remain so did not Beatrice's contrasting innocence sharply expose their evil as they destroy her. The result is a caustic condemnation of evil, a story which in its ending creates pity for innocence, anger and horror at the evil of the world which destroys it. In the modern world, the music of innocence is "Jug, jug to dirty ears."

Of all the characters, Rappaccini most obviously echoes the theme. To him, Beatrice has been principally an instrument to the achievement of his greatest scientific success. He gazes at her and Giovanni not as human beings but as "a group of statuary." He has no love. As Beatrice says, she is "but his earthly child." When Rappaccini stands, his hands extended over his victims, Hawthorne notes the "attitude of a father" who implores "a blessing;" at this juncture, Giovanni trembles and Beatrice shudders. Narrow, incapable of real affection, assuming that Beatrice must welcome the result of his experiment—the awful power "to quell the mightiest with a breath"—Rappaccini has worked chiefly to satisfy his own pride. He is "satisfied with <u>his</u> success" (italics mine), and "his bent form," says Hawthorne, grows "erect with conscious power." It is because he is so self-centered, so anxious for his own scientific success that he has come to stand for intellect without heart. Beatrice perishes significantly at his feet—not in his arms! She has been sacrificed to his particular end.

Baglioni also demonstrates the general ill of egocentricism. Readers note the falseness of his joviality—of his being "<u>apparently</u> (italics mine) of genial nature." For him Beatrice is the means to defeat Rappaccini, the salve to pride and jealousy. In some respects, Baglioni's evil is highlighted by Beatrice's innocence even more sharply than Rappaccini's. Whatever his horror in the end, we sense the terrible callousness of his "tone of triumph" as Beatrice dies.

Wrinkled old Lisabetta, whom critics have ignored, also plays her role in the destruction of innocence. Hers is an ancient evil in the modern world, her sinister face smirking and smiling "not unlike a grotesque carving in wood, darkened by centuries." Greed is her sin. Though initially she dissociates herself and her house from the garden, crying "Heaven forbid," soon, pimplike, she hints her willingness to help Giovanni to Beatrice for a fee. Rappaccini, suddenly "the worshipful doctor," has already paid her to lure Giovanni into the garden. For Lisabetta, Beatrice is only a means to gold.

Giovanni, moreover, is no Ferdinand brought to a Beatrice-Miranda. Of all the egocentrics, he creates in Beatrice the greatest internal hurt. Shallow vanity is the key to his character: "Before descending into the garden, Giovanni failed not to look at his figure in the mirror,—a vanity to be expected in a beautiful young man, yet, as displaying itself at that troubled and feverish moment, the token of a certain shallowness of feeling and insincerity of character." He is "ardent," yes, but in passion—not in love. He is unable to commit himself to another. Unlike Beatrice, who will not let him try the antidote, he thinks only of his own misfortune, raging against her: "enticed me," "severed me," "blasted me," "filled my veins with poison." Self-concern in our modern world yields passion, not love.

Perhaps the greatest and least-noticed irony in the tale is contained in the contrast which Hawthorne implies between poisoned humanity and the poisoned flowers. "The strange plants were basking in the sunshine, and now and then nodding gently to one another, as if in acknowledgment of sympathy and kindred." Even the poisoned plants seem to find in their common doom a basis for sympathy. The greater poison is in modern man. Only through a dissolution of egocentricism and through recognition of our common frailty and doom, and through the resultant sympathy can we arrive at a moral life—the life of love.

Thus each character in his own way demonstrates, in his relationship to Beatrice, the besetting sin of Hawthorne's "Eden of the present world." The general and central sin is blinding egocentricism, which leads to the failure of love. Since each character reveals a different facet of this sin of modern Eden, Hawthorne achieves variety in his tale—and a depth. Egocentricism covers pride, jealousy, greed, vanity, the substitution of passion for love, and the desire for power, and these foster the coldly intellectual, loveless manipulation not only of nature, but of man. Each character may be said to possess the "dualism" of average beings, but Beatrice's relative innocence exposes the horror of ordinary humanity. The tale inspires no c'est la vie mood about the genre. It does not preach: "There's good and bad in everybody." Compared with Beatrice, ordinary humanity stands condemned because it murders innocence. Through Beatrice Hawthorne seems to say with a modern poet, "And still the world pursues."

—Temple University.

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1 Hawthorne: A Critical Study, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, p. 115. See also pp. 102, 104, 114.
2 Hawthorne's Tragic View, Austin, 1957, p. 57.
3 The Art of Modern Fiction, N.Y., 1949, p. 32. West and Stallman's view that "Beatrice, like the original Eve, had succumbed to the temptation to possess a power which did not belong to mankind" seems quite at variance with Hawthorne's picture of Beatrice as rather passive victim of Rappaccini's experimentation.
4 In "Rappaccini's Garden," A L, XXX (1958-1959), pp. 37-49, Charles Boewe calls attention to the fact that Rappaccini's flowers are hybrids, cites certain nineteenth-century sources that "built up a striking composite picture of beautiful and salacious hybrids doomed to barrenness in the interest of the purity of the species" (p. 45), and concludes that, since Beatrice is sister to the plants, she must be regarded as sharing the "decadent and barren beauty of the hybrid plants themselves" (p. 48), so that "nature imperatively demands that she be purged from the system of created beings (p. 49). Mr. Boewe, nevertheless, finds Beatrice pure in soul and makes clear that "a stain on the physical system need not reflect in the moral system" (p. 39n). However, a major difficulty in Mr. Boewe's interpretation, quite apart from the question of whether this is not carrying sisterhood very far and quite apart from the problem of seeing Beatrice as "hybrid" at all, is the view that "nature" purges Beatrice. After all, even mechanically it is man's artifice in Baglioni's antidote and Rappaccini's poison, and not nature, which kills Beatrice, although what human motivation leads to their use is even more to the point.
5 See particularly Richard H. Fogle, Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark, Norman, Okla., 1952, p. 94.